

Anglican Theological Review

EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT AND BURTON S. EASTON

Founded by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XXI

JANUARY, 1939

NUMBER 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MONASTIC WORSHIP

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Two major developments marked the history of Christianity in the fourth century. On the one hand, the Church became definitely allied to the political and social order under the aegis of the emperor and won a decisive victory over all competitors as the favored religion of the state. On the other hand, the rapid rise of monasticism exhibited a religious temper distrustful of all ties with the world of ordinary affairs and desirous of seeking the comforts of religion in desert sands and mountainous wildernesses apart from the centers of cultural and social commerce. These contrasting religious developments found expression in diverse forms of worship. In the Church worship under the control of an official hierarchy the sacramental mystery of the Eucharist was elaborated and adorned with all the newly-baptized arts of pagan culture, and guaranteed in its efficacy by an increasing crystallization of authoritative dogma. Among the early monks, on the contrary, worship was informal and little attached to external symbols as avenues of approach to divine communion. Monastic worship was *logical* rather than *dramatic*, it was *contemplative* rather than *actual*. It employed neither sacrifice nor sacrament. Its instruments were psalmody, prayer, and the reading of Holy Scripture.

I

In the monastic literature of the fourth and fifth centuries the aim of worship was conceived to be a mystical experience of God, direct and immediate, to which one "ascended" by means of contemplation upon the holy thoughts presented to the mind in the psalm-singing, prayers, and Scripture readings. The highest stage of this ascent was a state of indescribable rapture, marked by no visible image or audible sound, but lighted with a heavenly light imparting a vision and knowledge of God and a foretaste of bliss in the life beyond death. Such an experience of ecstasy could only be obtained when one was pure from all bodily passion, tranquil in mind, and free from all distraction of the senses. To achieve it required the discipline of asceticism and the exercise of virtuous living.

A few quotations selected at random from the vast body of literature will make this theory of worship apparent. Cassian reports that in his conference with Abbot Isaac in the lower Egyptian desert the old monk spoke of

that ardent prayer which is known and tried by but very few, and which to speak more truly is ineffable; which transcends all human thoughts, and is distinguished, I will not say by any sound of the voice, but by no movement of the tongue, or utterance of words, but which the mind enlightened by the infusion of that heavenly light describes in no human and confined language, but pours forth richly as from a copious fountain in an accumulation of thoughts, and ineffably utters to God, expressing in the shortest possible space of time such great things that the mind when it returns to its usual condition cannot easily utter or relate.¹

In the *Historia monachorum* the monk John is reported as saying to his visitors:

You also, O children, pursue after quietness, ever exercising yourselves in contemplation, in order that you may possess a pure mind when praying to God. . . . For fine is that man, yea, exceedingly fine, who is engaged in practical matters and keeps the commandments, and is busy in earthly matters. But better and mightier than he is that contemplative man who flees from practical matters to the things of the mind, leaving to others the consideration of such things; but he, denying himself and forgetting himself, is busy about heavenly things. Easily loosed from all earthly ties, he stands close to God,

¹ *Collationes* ix. 25 (trans. Gibson).

having no anxiety about other things. For such a one lives with God, and communes with God, ever hymning Him with unending hymns.²

St Nilus, who became a monk in 390 and was later abbot of a monastery in Ancyra, Galatia, described ecstatic prayer:

The highest prayer of the perfect is a certain seizure of mind and a complete ecstasy out of the senses, while the spirit with unspeakable groans converses with God, who looks upon the state of the heart, unrolled, as it were, like a written book, and showing forth its own will and purpose with voiceless figures.³

Finally, we append some remarks of St Basil, the great legislator of Eastern monasticism, concerning the purpose of hymns, Scripture reading and prayer:

Pious exercises nourish the soul with divine thoughts. . . . Soothing hymns compose the mind to a cheerful and calm state. Quiet, then, as I have said, is the first step in our sanctification. . . . Thus the mind, saved from dissipation from without, and not through the senses thrown upon the world, falls back upon itself, and thereby ascends to the contemplation of God.

The study of inspired Scripture is the chief way of finding our duty, for in it we find both instruction about conduct and the lives of blessed men, delivered in writing, as some breathing images of godly living, for the imitation of their good works. . . .

Prayers, too, after reading, find the soul fresher, and more vigorously stirred by love towards God. And that prayer is good which imprints a clear idea of God in the soul: and the having God established in self by means of memory is God's indwelling.⁴

A mystical type of worship, such as that cultivated by the monks, was of an individualistic nature. Even after common worship services among them became well-established and ordered the monks performed most of their devotions in private, or at least in very small groups. In this way each monk could order his worship to suit his own taste and needs. Yet common services furnished the model for private devotions, and were highly esteemed as sources of mutual encouragement and helpfulness in attaining the common goal of contemplation of God. At-

² 1 (ed. by E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus, Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des ältesten Mönchtums* [Giessen, 1897]. Cf. the Latin recension in *P. L.* XXI, 404).

³ *De voluntaria paupertate* 27 (*P. G.* LXXIX, 1004).

⁴ *Epistolae* ii. 2-4 (trans. Jackson).

tendance upon them was rigidly enforced, and suspension from common prayers was considered the most severe punishment.⁵ In Egypt, where the climate favored eremitical organization and a minimum of regulation, the monks only assembled for worship in a body on Saturdays and Sundays, when they also received the Holy Communion.⁶ Yet each monk was expected on other days of the week to say prescribed matins and vespers offices, and in the more organized Pachomian communities of upper Egypt an additional office at midnight. These offices, however, were of only moderate length that the more ardent might not be unduly kept away from their private spiritual exercises.⁷

As an example of a typical monastic service of common worship let us take matins as conducted by the monks of lower Egypt, and described in some detail by Cassian, an eye-witness of them. In essential structure this service in no way differs from the more elaborately prescribed and highly stylized offices outlined in the *Rule of St Benedict of Nursia* (early sixth century), which has formed the basis of monastic worship in the West to the present day. In the East, thanks to St Basil, the offices were left flexible and without a fixed routine of psalms or prayers.⁸ At the direction of the senior a monk opened the service by standing and singing a psalm. The other monks sat in silent attentiveness until he finished, then arose and stood with outstretched arms while a short prayer was offered by the leader. After the prayer all made a brief prostration. This procedure was followed until twelve psalms with their prayers had been completed. At the conclusion of the twelfth psalm, all sang together the *Gloria Patri*. Never more than four monks led in psalmody during a single service. After the psalmody two Scripture lessons were read, one from the Old Testament and one from the New. At the Saturday and Sunday synaxes both lessons were from the New Testa-

⁵ Cassian *De institutis* ii. 15-16; Palladius *Historia Lausiaca* 33; *Regula S. Pachomii*, Praecepta 9-11 (ed. Amand Boon, pp. 15-16).

⁶ *Hist. mon.* 22 (Latin), 23 (Greek); Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 7; 32; Cassian *Coll.* iii. 1-2; xviii. 15; xxiii. 21; Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica* iii. 14.

⁷ Cassian *De inst.* ii. 12-13; Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 32.

⁸ *Regulae fusius tractatae* 37 (trans. Clarke).

ment. Also during Eastertide both lessons were taken from the New Testament, and there was no kneeling at prayer. Sometimes a homily followed, delivered by the senior.⁹ The prayers at the services were of four types (based on I Timothy 2:1): penitential, votive, intercessory, and thanksgiving.

II

The similarity of structure and content between the monastic service just outlined and that of the ancient Jewish synagogue is at once apparent. Both contained the same elements and were based upon the Scriptures for the materials of prayer, song, and sacred instruction. Both services were democratic and laic in spirit and practice; no priest or ecclesiastical dignitary was needed to conduct them. Just as the synagogue worship was independent of the temple sacrificial cultus, so the devotional services of the monks were not a part of the sacramental rites of the Church. In neither case, however, was the service of prayer and praise considered a rival to or substitute for the official cultus; though in the case of Judaism, the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. left the synagogue as the only place providing public worship for Jews. This indeed it had always been to a great extent in the Diaspora. After 70 A.D. the synagogue took over many features of the temple services as well as much of their terminology. The later rabbis considered prayer and fasting to be a substitute for sacrifice.¹⁰

There were similarities in detail between the synagogue and monastic worship. Neither had a fixed liturgy; the leader led in the subject of prayer, which each individual elaborated in silence according to his own particular needs. In the synagogue service, for example, after the great prayer of the *Shemoneh Esreh*, the words of which were not written down until the fourth or fifth century, A.D., opportunity was given each one to offer private petitions (known as *Tachanunim*). These petitions were generally penitential and modelled on Daniel 9: 3ff.¹¹

⁹ Cassian *De inst.* ii. 2ff.

¹⁰ Babylonian Talmud, *Berakoth*, 17a, 26b, 32b.

¹¹ Tosephta, *Berakoth*, III, 6; Babylonian Talmud, *Berakoth*, 31a.

The parallels between Jewish and monastic worship end, however, in their similarity of structure and content. In the basic religious experience which underlay them the two were entirely different. The monk sang Psalms, read Scripture, and prayed in the language of the sacred text in order to store his mind with thoughts appropriate for the entrance of divine light in mystic contemplation. The Jew filled his mind with the inspired Word that by knowledge of the divinely-revealed *Torah* he might walk in righteousness before God. To the Jew, the meaning of worship was primarily ethical, never mystical. Praise and thanksgiving were offered God as creator and provider of man's needs, and confession and repentance made to Him as the judge of man's sins and rewarder of man's obedience to his will. Not only as regards individual piety, but also in their corporate character, the two were different. To the monks the value of corporate worship lay in the mutual stimulation which their fellowship gave towards the endeavor to attain the object of a common desire. In Judaism it had a more national, even political significance, in the confession of national sin, in the hope of national restoration and the universal acceptance of God's sovereignty, and in thanksgiving for God's choice and guidance of his chosen people Israel.

Even amongst Jewish ascetic groups the ethical implications of worship were of primary significance. In the case of the Essenes we are informed that it was their custom to arise before daylight and spend a period of time in meditation. At sunrise they "offered certain traditional prayers of their forefathers, as though beseeching the sun to rise."¹² This was hardly an act of sun-worship, but simply a prayer that God might send the light of the sun so that they might begin their day's work. Perhaps we have in this custom an echo of "the pious" (*Hasidim*) of pre-Maccabean times, who "used to wait an hour before they said the *Tefillah*, that they might direct their heart toward God."¹³ Or it may have looked back to certain other "pious" ones, known

¹² Josephus *De bello Judaico* ii. 8.5.

¹³ Mishnah, *Berakoth* V, 1; cf. Babylonian Talmud, *Berakoth*, 32b.

in the Talmud as *Watikim*, who arranged their morning prayers so as to finish the *Shema* exactly at sunrise.¹⁴

About eleven o'clock in the morning they gathered together for a common meal, for which they especially prepared by a cold bath and the donning of white veils. A similar meal in the evening was followed by a period of mutual exhortation. Grace was said before and after each meal. There is no reason to see in these gatherings a "sacramental" or "mystery" cult.¹⁵ They may be adequately explained by the sect's communistic way of living, their rigorous efforts to preserve the Levitical laws of ceremonial cleanness, and the common Jewish custom of saying benedictions before and after meals.¹⁶

The Essenes rejected the practice of animal sacrifice, and for this reason were excluded from the temple at Jerusalem. They did send to the temple votive offerings, probably in the form of incense.¹⁷ In this custom they were following to a logical conclusion much of the teaching of the prophets. On Sabbaths they assembled for a service similar to that held in the synagogues. One of their number would read from the sacred books; another interpreted. Philo said that they taught "piety, and holiness, and justice, and economy, and the science of regulating the state, and the knowledge of such things as are naturally good, or bad, or indifferent, and to choose what is right and to avoid what is wrong, using a threefold variety of definitions, and rules, and criteria, namely, the love of God, and the love of virtue, and the love of mankind." In other words, they emphasized moral philosophy, not metaphysics or natural science.¹⁸ To what extent their studies were based upon non-Scriptural books, it is difficult to say. Philo said they were their ancestral laws; Josephus said the writings of the ancients. Hippolytus, whose account of them

¹⁴ *Berakoth*, 9b; cf. *Wisdom* 16: 28, *II Macc.* 10: 28.

¹⁵ As does W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3d ed.; Tübingen, 1926), pp. 461-2.

¹⁶ For these benedictions, see *Mishnah, Berakoth*, VI, 1-3.

¹⁷ *Avasthuara*, Josephus *Antiquitates* xviii. 1.5; cf. Philo *Quod omnis probus liber* 12.

¹⁸ *Quod omnis probus liber* 12 (trans. Yonge).

seems to have depended upon Josephus, more explicitly limited their books to "the Law and the Prophets and . . . whatever scroll of the faithful they have besides."¹⁹ They did have some peculiar esoteric lore, for Josephus said that "they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers," that they required neophytes to "preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of the angels," and that "there are also among them who undertake to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets."²⁰ From these scant remarks it would appear that their peculiar interests had to do with apocalyptic speculations.

So far as the records go, then, the worship of the Essenes appears to have been quite similar both in content and religious meaning to that of the synagogue. The reading and exposition of Scripture was the heart of worship, and aimed towards stimulating moral character in harmony with the revealed will of God. In no sense was their worship mystical in the same way as that of the Christian monks.

The Therapeutae, an ascetic group of Diaspora Jews who inhabited the hills to the south of Lake Mareotis in Egypt, present a more difficult problem. Information concerning them is based solely upon a treatise of Philo, the *De vita contemplativa*. From remarks of Philo in other writings the phenomenon of ascetic groups of Jews who lived a life of solitude and contemplation in the desert was not limited solely to the Therapeutae.²¹ To separate the husk of Philo's interpretation of them from the core of fact is no easy task. To their "monasteries" in the desert the Therapeutae took "only the law and the oracles delivered under inspiration by the prophets along with the Psalms, and the other (books) by means of which religion and sound knowledge grow together into one perfect whole." At dawn and at eventide they

¹⁹ *Philosophumena* ix. 17.

²⁰ *De bello Judaico* ii. 8, 6-7, 12.

²¹ See the list of relevant passages given by F. C. Conybeare in his edition of the *De vita contemplativa* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 274-6.

would offer prayers—"at sunrise for a fair day for themselves, for the day, which is really fair, which meaneth that their minds be filled with heavenly light. But at sunset they pray that the soul be wholly relieved of the disorderly throng of the senses and of sensible things, and left free to track out and explore truth in its own conclave and council-chamber." The entire day they devoted to the study of the Scriptures and the composition of sacred hymns. Philo said that they interpreted the Scriptures allegorically with the help of commentaries written by the founders of the sect. "And these writings they use as exemplars of a kind, emulating the ideal of character traced out in them."

Only on Sabbaths did the Therapeutae meet together for a service of worship. After a discourse by the eldest and most learned, they would feast upon cheap bread, salt, hyssop and water. Every seven weeks they observed a high festival, similar to the Sabbath conclave, but extended in length so as to last all night. Hymns were sung by all in turn after the leader's exposition. The men and women arranged themselves into two choruses for singing and dancing in imitation of the dance of the children of Israel after crossing the Red Sea. "But the end and aim of thought and words and choristers alike is holiness." At dawn they offered their customary morning prayer and returned each to his own "monastery," there "to traffic in and cultivate afresh their customary philosophy."

At no time does Philo inform us that the purpose of worship among the Therapeutae was a mystical experience of ecstatic vision of God affording a foretaste of heavenly bliss. The aim of their worship was expressly stated to have been directed towards the development of moral character—certainly a Jewish characteristic. The heavenly light for which they prayed in their daily devotions was sought that it might illumine their minds in the search for truth and the better understanding of their sacred literature. It is, of course, easy to associate the desire for "light," coupled with an allegorical (i.e. spiritual) interpretation of religious writings, with the mystical proclivities of Philo and his Alexandrian milieu. But one suspects that here Philo's own

interpretation has crept in, just as his fondness for comparing their hymn-singing and dance to frenzied Bacchanals. It is perhaps safer, therefore, to look upon the Therapeutae as simply a band of hermit scholars and students of the Scriptures.²²

III

Pious Jews were accustomed to observe three times of daily prayer.²³ Generally these periods of devotion were conformed to the times of the daily public services—morning, noon (or afternoon) and evening. The *Shema* was required to be recited twice a day, "when thou liest down and when thou risest up," but the *Shemoneh Esreh*, or *Tefillah* as it was customarily called, was said three times. The early Christians continued this Jewish custom of thrice daily prayer, but on Gentile soil observed them in accordance with the Roman divisions of the day at the third, sixth and ninth hours. These times were publicly announced for the benefit of business, especially legal procedures.²⁴ Christian piety very early associated them with traditions of the apostles or of the Lord's passion. According to Clement of Alexandria, the devotions at each period consisted of three prayers,²⁵ and probably included the Lord's Prayer.²⁶ The development of the "little day hours" under the influence of accepted divisions of the day did not supersede the older Jewish practice so much as it expanded it; for morning devotions "when one riseth up" and evening prayer "when one lieth down" were retained, quite

²² This is essentially the view of Conybeare and also of P. Wendland, "Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. Bd. XXII (1896), 748 ff.; cf. Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

²³ Ps. 55: 17; Dan. 6: 10; Mishnah, *Berakoth*, I, 1-2; IV, 1; Tosephta, *Berakoth*, III, 1, 6; Babylonian Talmud, *Berakoth*, 26b; Josephus *Ant.* iv. 8.13. See also O. Holtzmann, "Die täglichen Gebetsstunden im Judentum und Urchristentum," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XII (1911), 90-108.

²⁴ Tertullian *De ieiunio* 10; cf. Seneca *Thyestes* 798.

²⁵ *Stromata* vii. 7.

²⁶ *Didache* 8; Origen *De oratione* 12.

naturally, in addition to the day hours.²⁷ Among the more earnest the custom began also of rising during the night to pray.²⁸

All these devotions were observed in private, and there is no evidence of their daily celebration in Church until the fourth century. It is true that "vigil" services came to be held during the second century on the so-called "station" days, Wednesday and Friday, and in the cemeteries on anniversaries of martyrs, in addition to the regular weekly "vigil" of the Lord's Day. In the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, dating from the early third century, the faithful were exhorted to observe *seven* periods of prayer in the course of every twenty-four hours: morning, third, sixth, ninth, bedtime, midnight, and cockcrow.²⁹ Here indeed one sees the system of canonical hours of the Divine Office, both secular and monastic. But it is noteworthy that only the morning prayer was said publicly, and that only on certain days when there was instruction at the Church. Prayer, song, and Bible reading were noted as the proper way to observe the periods of devotion.

As early as the time of Paul Christians believed physical abstinence to be an aid to more fervent prayer.³⁰ By the second century fasting was enjoined upon all the faithful on the special "station" days of Wednesday and Friday when, as stated above, special vigils were held.³¹ At the same time the number of Christian continents, both men and women, devoted to a life of prayer, began to grow apace.³² Widows of advanced age, who had only been married once, were regarded as a distinct order,

²⁷ Tertullian *De oratione* 25; Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* ii. 4; Cyprian *De dominica oratione* 35.

²⁸ Tertullian *Ad uxorem* ii. 5; Clement of Alex., *Paed.* ii. 9.

²⁹ 35-36. Cf. T. Shermann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Ueberlieferung* (Paderborn, 1914), I, 93-8.

³⁰ I Cor. 7: 5.

³¹ *Didache* 8; Hermas *Sim.* v. 1ff.; Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* vii. 12; Tertullian *De ieiunio* 2, 10-14, *De oratione* 19.

³² I Clement 38; Ignatius *Ad Polycarpum* 5; Hermas *Sim.* ix. 30; Justin *Apologia* i. 15; Athenagoras *Supplicatio pro Christianis* 33; Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* vii. 12; Tertullian *Apologeticus* 9, *De cultu feminarum* ii. 9; Origen *Homilia in Numeros* ii. 1; Minucius Felix *Octavius* 31.

and were noted for their continual "supplications and prayers night and day."³³ An interesting picture of the life of Christian ascetics in the early third century is afforded by the pseudo-Clementine epistles, *De virginitate*. Two types of ascetics were distinguished: (1) those who lived together in one place in separation from the world, and (2) travelling ascetics, who cared for the bodily and spiritual needs of widows, orphans, and poor people. The latter group were especially gifted in the reading and interpreting of Scripture. They would visit the homes where Christian ascetics were gathered and hold informal services of worship. Psalms were sung, prayers offered, and the Scriptures read and expounded.³⁴

The infusion into these Scriptural devotions of mystical interests was very largely the work of the Alexandrian theologians of the second and third centuries, Clement and Origen. The picture given by Clement in the seventh book of his *Stromata* (7ff.) of the ideal devotional life of the true Christian Gnostic was remarkably similar to the ideal of worship set forth later by monastic writers. The Gnostic was to pray silently. "Endeavouring to abstract the body from the earth, along with the discourse, raising the soul aloft, winged with longing for better things, we compel it to advance to the region of holiness, magnanimously despising the chain of the flesh." The little day hours, he said, should be observed in the interest of "having fellowship with God." "Prayer, then, may be uttered without the voice, by concentrating the whole spiritual nature within on expression by the mind, in undistracted turning towards God." Added to prayer, there must be study, abstinence from sensual pleasures and upright conduct if one was to reach "an inspired elevation of prayer, being associated gnostically, as far as possible, with intellectual and spiritual objects." The Gnostics' "sacrifices are prayers, and praises, and readings in the Scriptures before meals, and psalms and hymns during meals and before bed,

³³ I Tim. 5: 3ff. Cf. Anna of Luke 2: 37, and Ignatius *Ad Smyrnaeos* 13; Polycarp *Epistola* iv. 3. A Jewish precedent in Judith 8: 4ff.

³⁴ i. 10-11; ii. 1-2, 4-6.

and prayers also again during night. By these he unites himself to the divine choir, from continual recollection, engaged in contemplation which has everlasting remembrance."

The same views were repeated by Origen. For example, in his treatise against Celsus, he remarked:

Observe now how by such statements he depreciates those amongst us who are teachers of the word, and who strive in every way to raise the soul to the Creator of all things, and who show that we ought to despise things "sensible," and "temporal," and "visible," and to do our utmost to reach communion with God, and the contemplation of things that are "intelligent," and "invisible," and a blessed life with God, and the friends of God.²⁵

In the latter part of his life Origen wrote a treatise on prayer in answer to a question put to him by two friends as to whether prayer was necessary if God had foreknowledge of men's needs. In answering this question he added some remarks upon prayer significant for our enquiry. One should not speak much in prayer, said he, nor ask for trifling or earthly things. All anxiety of mind and disturbing thoughts should be laid aside; for extraneous things hinder the approach to God. "When, then, our mind's eye is thus uplifted so that we are no longer pre-occupied with things of earth or filled with images derived from material things . . . and are solely occupied with the thought of God . . . we converse reverently and modestly with Him who listens to us."²⁶ The content of prayer included praise and thanksgiving, confession and petition. But in order that it might lead to the mystic experience, not only the suppression of the world of sense was necessary, but also the Scriptures, which formed the basis of worship both for meditation and for the language of prayer, must be interpreted allegorically.

It is needful to warn those who yearn to lead a spiritual life in Christ that they should not ask for trifling nor merely worldly things when they pray; rather I would exhort readers of this treatise to pray for those mystic things of which we have but types in the things of which I have been speaking. Now prayer for the said spiritual or mystic things is only perfected in him who

²⁵ *Contra Celsum* iii. 56 (trans. Crombie).

²⁶ *De oratione* 10 (trans. H. Pope, "Origen's Treatise on Prayer," *Ecclesiastical Record*, LX [1919], 633-49).

wars *not according to the flesh*, but who through the Spirit puts to death the things of the flesh, and who makes far more account of what the anagogical sense (of Holy Scripture) will reveal to those who seek it than of any reward which the literal sense (of Scripture) may suggest as likely to accrue to those who pray.³⁷

The writings of Origen were well-known to the early monks and were widely read amongst them. One of the leading monastic theologians of the latter part of the fourth century, Evagrius Ponticus, was a great student and admirer of Origen.³⁸ In the year 399 a tumultuous controversy broke out amongst the monks of lower Egypt as a result of the Paschal letter of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, which condemned an anthropomorphic conception of God.³⁹ Simple and unlettered monks, who interpreted the Scriptures literally, considered Genesis 1:26 to teach that God did have corporeal form. Such monks blamed Theophilus with teaching heresy which had been propounded by Origen, namely that God was incorporeal. Origen had said that only man's rational soul, not his body, was the image of God,⁴⁰ and learned monks and "such as had a cultivated mind" (as the historian Socrates put it) likewise interpreted the Scriptures in a "spiritual" sense.

IV

The asceticism and mysticism taught by the Alexandrian fathers, which furnished the ground-work of monastic piety, was the Christian counterpart of a general trend in the religious philosophy of Graeco-Roman times. In circles influenced especially by Platonic and Neopythagorean ideas God had come to be conceived as a Being totally transcendent, purely immaterial, unbegotten, ineffable and incorporeal. As such he was not to be approached by any material or visible sacrifice or offering, nor could he be

³⁷ *Ibid.* 13; cf. *C. Cels.* ii. 6.

³⁸ See the study of W. Bousset, *Apophthegmata. Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums* (Tübingen, 1923), Part III.

³⁹ Socrates *Historia ecclesiastica* vi. 7, 9; Sozomen *Hist. eccl.* viii. 11-13; Cassian *Coll.* x. 2-3. See my article, "The Anthropomorphic Controversy in the Time of Theophilus of Alexandria," *Church History* VII (1938), 263-73.

⁴⁰ *C. Cels.* vii. 66; cf. viii. 17-19.

represented or pictured in any form. The only way to him was a flight beyond the senses, beyond even the mind to a communion of pure spirit with Pure Spirit. Such a goal was seldom reached, but it was worth a life-time of training, discipline, study and worship in order to achieve it. So ineffable was the experience that it could only be described in metaphorical terms—silent ecstasy and dazzling light.

This religious outlook reached its acme in paganism in the writings of Plotinus, founder of the Neoplatonic school, who was a native of Egypt and a contemporary and friend of Origen. Plotinus' descriptions of the mystic flight of "the alone to the alone" are too-well known to need detailed exposition here.⁴¹ It should be said, however, that with Plotinus purification from the things of sense necessary to spiritual contemplation was more a discipline of reason than a rule of conduct. Yet the Neoplatonists themselves lived in quite ascetic fashion. Porphyry, the pupil of Plotinus, in his letter to his wife Marcella spoke of the body as simply "the outer covering" of the soul, and "in so far as he refrains from sharing the feelings of the body, in such a measure does he approach the divine."⁴² In his treatise advocating a vegetarian diet, Porphyry described the Neoplatonic ideal of worship:

To the God who is over all, as a certain wise man said, we must neither offer by fire nor dedicate any of the things of sense; for there is no material thing which is not at once impure to the immaterial. Wherefore neither is speech by the outward voice proper to Him, nor even the inward speech, whenever it is defiled by passion of the soul. But we worship Him in pure silence, and with pure thoughts concerning Him. United therefore, and made like to Him, we must offer our own self-discipline as a holy sacrifice to God, the same being both a hymn of praise to Him and salvation to us. Therefore this sacrifice is perfected in passionless serenity of soul and in contemplation of God.⁴³

The "certain wise man" referred to by Porphyry may well have been the famed Neopythagorean of the first century A.D., Apollonius of Tyana. This man was a strange complex of re-

⁴¹ See especially *Enneades* i. 6.7; v. 1.6; vi. 9.11.

⁴² *Ad Marcellam* 32 (trans. Zimmern).

⁴³ *De abstinentia* ii. 34 (trans. Gifford, in Eusebius *Præparatio evangelica* iv. 11).

ligious practitioner, a wanderer celibate, given to prophetic and wonder-working gifts, and fond of giving gratuitous advice in the many places he visited on matters pertaining to worship. From a quotation of Apollonius preserved by Eusebius it would seem that he opposed all forms of sacrificial worship, whether of animals or plants, and in their stead advocated the use of silent and mental prayer.⁴⁴ His biographer said that he only offered incense.⁴⁵ This he did partly in imitation of Pythagoras, partly because of his belief in some defilement attaching to material things which made them unworthy offerings to God as well as unnecessary to a purely spiritual Being. The idea of defilement inherent in material things traced back to primitive notions of "taboo," which had been rationalized and moralized in the Orphic-Pythagorean movement of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. and associated also with the belief in the transmigration of souls. It is doubtful, therefore, whether Apollonius' advocacy of silent worship may be taken as indicative of a contemplative and mystical form of religious devotion as Porphyry and the Neoplatonists understood it. The Neoplatonist Iamblichus, who like Porphyry was also addicted to many Pythagorean notions, has left a picture of the daily life and worship of the Neopythagorean sect. They would arise before sunrise and offer prayer to the rising sun. During the morning they meditated in solitude near some temple or grove before assembling to discuss matters of doctrine and behavior. Physical exercise preceded a simple meal of bread and honey. Business matters came up for discussion in the early afternoon, after which they would take walks by twos and threes and discuss further their disciplines. A bath was taken just before the evening meal. Libations and fumigations with incense opened the supper, which consisted of bread, raw and boiled vegetables, and occasionally some sacrificial meat and wine. After supper a service of worship was held. It began with libations. Then the youngest member read to the group at

⁴⁴ *Præp. evang.* iv. 13; *Demonstratio evangelica* iii. 3.

⁴⁵ Philostratus *Vita Apollonii* i. 1, 21; iv. 21; v. 25-6.

the direction of the eldest. Before departing another libation was poured, and the eldest recited the cardinal precepts of the sect:

No mild and fruitful plant or innoxious animal should be injured or corrupted. Speak piously of the divine, demonical and heroic genera, parents and benefactors.

Give assistance to the law.

Before retiring each one examined his conduct during the day. Music was used to compose and purify the soul, and hymns were often sung on going to bed and arising. Dancing was also used occasionally.⁴⁶ In the remains of a subterranean basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome the ruins of a Neopythagorean place of assemblage has been discovered. It dates from the reign of Claudius.⁴⁷

From the above description it would appear that Neopythagorean worship was directed not so much towards mystical experiences as to the cultivation of their peculiar philosophical and ethical doctrines. Yet syncretism between this sect and more strict followers of Platonic ideals was common. A good example is the philosopher Numenius of Apamea (end of the second century), of whose work the following fragment has been preserved:

... there is no possibility of conceiving the good from anything that lies before us, nor yet from anything similar that can be perceived by the senses. ... Just so, then, must a man withdraw far from the things of sense, and commune in solitude with the good alone, where there is neither man nor any other living thing, nor body great or small, but a certain immense, indescribable, and absolutely divine solitude, where already the occupations and splendours of the good exist, and the good itself, in peace and benevolence, that gentle, gracious, guiding power, sits high above all being.⁴⁸

Another form of philosophical and religious syncretism, strongly colored with Platonic mysticism, was Hermeticism, whose literature was contemporary with early Christianity. The movement was native to Egypt. In the first tractate *Asclepius* one is told that man is of a double nature, divine and human, and

⁴⁶ Iamblichus *Vita Pythagorica* 96 ff., 256.

⁴⁷ See J. Carcopino, *La Basilique Pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* (Paris, 1926).

⁴⁸ Eusebius *Praep. evang.* xi. 22; cf. xi. 18.

as such has two duties. "He raises reverent eyes to heaven above; he tends the earth below." His soul, which is his divine part, is "single and undivided," "incorporeal and eternal," formed in the likeness of God. His body, which shelters the divine soul, is "fourfold, and material." The Muses were sent to earth to teach men's souls the tendance of heaven in hymns of praise. For to Hermetic ways of thinking the only sacrifices God accepts are the "rational sacrifices" of praise and thanksgiving.⁴⁹ The right regulation of the two parts of man's nature

... consists first and chiefly in piety; and piety is accompanied by goodness. But goodness is to be seen in its perfection only when man's virtue is fortified against desire, and he scorns all things that are alien to him. Now all earthly things which man holds in his possession to gratify his bodily desires are alien to all that part of his nature which is akin to God.⁵⁰

Here, then, is stated the ascetic groundwork. The reward of such piety is immortality, which is equivalent to knowledge of God. "For to worship God in thought and spirit with singleness of heart, to revere God in all his works, and to give thanks to God, whose will, and his alone, is wholly filled with goodness—this is philosophy unsullied by intrusive cravings for unprofitable knowledge."⁵¹

The Hermeticists distinguished two classes of gods; the higher ones, who ruled all the world of material things, were apprehensible by thought alone. God the Father and Master over all was higher than all human utterance, for no name could describe him.⁵² Men, so far as their minds were able, might see "through dark mist" the things of heaven, and "great is man's happiness when he has seen that vision."⁵³

But in this life we are still too weak to see that sight; we have not strength to open our mental eyes, and to behold the beauty of the Good, that incorruptible beauty which no tongue can tell. Then only will you see it, when you cannot

⁴⁹ Cf. *Poimandres* 31-32. I have used the edition of W. Scott, *Hermetica* (Oxford, 1924-36), 4 vols.

⁵⁰ *Asclepius* i. 11a.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 14a.

⁵² *Ibid.* iii. 20a.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 32b.

speak of it; for the knowledge of it is deep silence, and suppression of all the senses. He who has apprehended the beauty of the Good can apprehend nothing else; he who has seen it can see nothing else; he cannot hear speech about aught else; he cannot move his body at all; he forgets all bodily sensations and all bodily movements, and is still. But the beauty of the Good bathes his mind in light, and takes all his soul up to itself, and draws it forth from the body, and changes the whole man into eternal substance.⁸⁴

Mysticism even invaded the ranks of the Stoics. These philosophers were given to practices of asceticism as an aid in the cultivation of indifference to all outward circumstances of life which tended to destroy calm and peace of mind. But such asceticism had only a practical bent and with religious interests had little to do. Their discipline was one of rationality rather than of piety. One of their cardinal doctrines was the essential kinship of the human soul with reality. The spark which flamed in each individual's breast was no different from the rational Nature which manifested itself in the fiery order of celestial bodies. Thus the path was left open for the cultivation of "astral mysticism."⁸⁵ The source of astral religion was ancient Babylonia. It passed to the western world largely through the influence of the Stoic philosopher Poseidonius of Apamea (born ca. 135 B.C.).

It is not difficult to see how the emotions aroused by the varied beauty and constant harmony of movement among the heavenly bodies, when combined with belief in their relationship to the human soul and reason, would find in the contemplation of the sky a means of communion with the divine order displayed in it. Since the ecstasy induced by this type of contemplation was of an intellectual sort, it is furthermore not surprising to find it linked with ideas of a quite definitely ascetic sort. Such sublime research rose of necessity above all earthly goods. The well-known Alexandrian astronomer of the second century, Ptolemy, has a stanza:

⁸⁴ *Corpus Hermeticum* x. 5-6.

⁸⁵ For pertinent sources see Cumont's article, "Le Mysticisme astral dans l'Antiquité," *Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques et de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, Académie royale de Belgique, 1909, pp. 256-86.

I know that mortal though I be and for a day, yet when I trace out the serried stars in their circular courses, my feet no longer touch the surface of the earth, but I am satiated with ambrosia in the presence of Zeus himself, nourisher of the gods.⁵⁶

Another testimony comes from the astronomer Vettius Valens:

Men tracing out the heavenly circuit and the movements of the stars and the courses of the Sun and Moon and the divisions of the years and months and seasons, and the tempers and changes, the contacts and effluxes of the air would seem from such knowledge to partake in and for a time commune with the gods. . . . Hermes leads the souls of men on high about the starry firmament, surrounding them with ecstatic and natural thoughts, especially those who are reverently zealous concerning these things.⁵⁷

The close association of these ideas with Stoic ways of thinking is well illustrated by Vettius Valens' remarks on prayer: "For it is impossible for any man by prayers or sacrifices to overcome what was fixed from the beginning and alter it to his taste; what has been assigned to us will happen without our praying for it, what is not fated will not happen for our prayers."⁵⁸

Contemporary with the very beginnings of Christian monasticism itself was the astronomer Firmicus Maternus. In the preface to the eighth book of his *Mathesis*, he opened by saying:

We ought to labor for nothing else in this brief mortal life, O excellent Mavortius, than that purged from pollution of the earthly body, and all vices, or at least most of them, discarded as far as possible, we should render to God our maker the divinity of our soul, incorrupt and polluted by no taint of evils, lest we lose our soul as unmindful of its divine creator and involved in the vicious snares of passions, thrown headlong to perdition, as it were. . . . But we ought not at all to cogitate upon earthly things, especially since we know God our maker to have fashioned us by the guidance of the divine artificer, that, by means of an upright form of body, banished from all mean dejection and exposed with clear eyes only to the sun, moon, stars and their most beautiful and immortal abode, we might gaze upon the universe. . . . Look, therefore, my excellent Mavortius, with open eyes to heaven, and let your soul ever behold that most beautiful fabrication of divine labor. For then our mind, formed by the recollection of its majesty, may be freed from depraved bodily allurements, and divested of mortal inconveniences, and strive towards its maker with hastened step, and through every hour with wise and ever vigilant enquiry seek nothing

⁵⁶ *Anthologia Palatina* ix. 577.

⁵⁷ *Anthologiae* ix. 8 (ed. Kroll, p. 346).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* v. 9 (p. 220).

except divine things. . . . For always occupied with divine disputations, applying our soul to the celestial powers, and consecrating it with divine ceremonies, we are separated from all desires of base passions.

One might easily take this passage—astronomical references excluded—as coming from the pen of a Christian monk.

The conception of worship in terms of mystical aspiration, as found in the literature of Gentile religious philosophy here reviewed, paralleled very closely the theory of worship outlined in monastic writers. The principal difference lay in the instruments used in worship. For there was nothing in Gentile piety comparable to Jewish-Christian sacred Scripture. The astral mystics, for example, studied the courses of the heavens rather than the words of a sacred text. The Hermeticists were given to a "rational sacrifice" of praise and thanksgiving, but there was little or nothing of confession or intercession in their prayers, two very characteristic marks of Jewish and Christian devotion. The same might be said concerning the Neoplatonists. It is of interest that much of this mysticism was native to or largely cultivated upon Egyptian soil. Hermeticism was native to Egypt; and astral mysticism, Neopythagoreanism and Neoplatonism had close ties with the milieu of Alexandria. The developing Christian movement did not escape the influence of these religious philosophies, and into the traditions of Scriptural devotion inherited from her Jewish parent, the desire for a new kind of worship experience, contemplative and other-worldly, sought expression. This was made possible during the course of the second and third centuries by the expansion of Christian theology to include attributes of passionlessness, formlessness, and ineffability to the Godhead, and by the development of an allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures. In these changes a principal rôle was played by the Christian thinkers who were most closely linked with the land of Egypt, Clement and Origen.

A PROPOSED FORM-CRITICAL TREATMENT OF ACTS

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One of the most important guiding principles of present-day New Testament study is found in the realization that the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles should be regarded as two volumes of one work, and each studied in the light of the other, a realization that has often led to the correction of erroneous or one-sided views.¹ However, despite thoroughgoing form-critical study of Luke and the other gospels, the methods of form-criticism have not been applied to Acts in any great degree. This is either because of preoccupation with the gospel tradition or because of a conviction that while Luke acted as a compiler in writing his gospel, he used much more of an historian's freedom in writing Acts.² But a study of Acts from the form-critical point of view will perhaps show that the difference between the two volumes is one of degree, not of kind. Although Luke undoubtedly did allow himself more freedom in Acts, nevertheless he was dealing with traditional material much of which can be subsumed under the standard categories employed by form-critics. The present paper is a much condensed report of the beginnings of such a study.

In Acts one does not find such large blocks of teaching material as in the gospels. The gospels contain the *Halakhah* of Jesus; in the place of this in Acts we have sermons and discourses, long and well worked out, like some of the passages in the

¹ Cf. H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York, 1927); E. J. Goodspeed, *New Solutions of New Testament Problems* (Chicago, 1927), pp. 65-93; F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London, 1922), II, 207-359; A. von Harnack, *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (London and N. Y., 1911), pp. 1-29.

² M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York, 1935), p. 3.

epistles; and it is obvious from the form that the preaching of subsidiary characters does not possess the same importance as do dominical sayings. If one goes through Acts and isolates all editorial material, speeches and the like, one finds also a number of narratives which, although much reworked, belong to the classes of (1) paradigms or pronouncement stories; (2) longer miracle stories, called *Novellen* by Dibelius and *Wundergeschichten* by Bultmann; and (3) a group of stories, often called legends, which do not deal primarily with miracle but rather minister to a budding historical sense on the part of the primitive Church, and give a larger place to human interest.*

There are seven stories which bear a certain resemblance to the paradigms of the gospels, as follows:

- 1:4b-8. "You are not to know times or seasons."
- 1:23-26. The choice of Matthias.
- 2:37-39. The effect of Peter's speech.
- 4:5-12. The witness of Peter and John before the Sanhedrin.
- 4:13-20. The Sanhedrin considers and orders them to desist; they make answer.
- 5:26-32. The Apostles before the Sanhedrin.
- 6:9-14. Charges against Stephen and cause of his arrest.

A good example of one of these is 4:13-20. The Sanhedrin orders Peter and John to desist and they make answer. The form in fact is that of a *Streitgespräch* and the point is in the words, Should we listen to you or to God? The story would be valuable in time of persecution, and in fact all of these seven could be useful for preaching purposes.

The stories of quasi-communism in the early Church (Joseph Barnabas, Ananias and Sapphira, 4:36-5:10) are personal legends which border on the *Novellen* type with their punitive miracle; they are ætiological in their explanation of the economic situation of Judæan Christianity. Of two Stephen stories (6:1-6, appointment of the Seven; 7:54-8:1a, Stephen's mar-

* For a discussion of these various forms, see V. Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London, 1933).

tyrdom), one is in its present form an ætiological legend⁴ which St Luke uses to explain the origin of the diaconate. The second consists of the *Acta* of the first and typical martyr. Of two stories of Philip (8:9-13, Simon Magus; 8:26-40, the Ethiopian eunuch), one is both personal and ætiological and the other largely personal.

There are five miracle stories of Peter, as follows:

- 3:1-10. The healing at the Beautiful Gate.
- 5:15. Peter's shadow.
- 5:17-23. Peter's escape.
- 9:32-34. Peter heals a paralytic.
- 9:36-43. The raising of Tabitha or Dorcas.

One of these (the Beautiful Gate) may be built out of a paradigm.⁵ The healing of the paralytic and some of the others have close affinities with the gospel miracles; and the healing of Dorcas reminds one strongly of the raising of the young man at Nain (Luke 7:11-17). There are also four stories of Peter which belong to the species of either personal or ætiological legend.

- 8:14-17. Laying on of hands in Samaria; receipt of the Holy Ghost (ætiological).
- 10:1-48. Peter and Cornelius (personal and ætiological).
- 12:1-3. Beheading of James, arrest of Peter (personal).
- 12:4-19. "St Peter's chains" (personal).

In the Barnabas and Saul cycle there are two clear examples of personal legend (11:19-26, transition to the Gentile mission; 11:27-30, prediction of famine and famine visit to Jerusalem), and to these we may possibly add two others (13:1-3, appointment as missionaries; 13:48-52, rejection and journey to Iconium). There is also one miracle story (14:8-18, the lame man at Lystra), and one which is partly tale and partly personal legend (13:6-12, Barjesus and Sergius Paulus).

⁴ Dibelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 ff.

⁵ Dibelius (pp. 97 ff., *op. cit.*) thinks that some of the gospel "tales" originated in this way.

The striking thing, however, is that in the Paul cycle there are no fewer than eleven stories which approach closely to the *Novellen* category and contain a marked miraculous element.

- 9:3-9. Conversion of Saul of Tarsus.
- 9:10-19. Ananias baptizes Saul.
- 16:16-18. Healing of the ventriloquist girl.
- 16:19-40. Opposition; arrest and release of Paul and Silas.
- 19:11-13. Healing by relics of Paul; non-Christian exorcists.
- 19:14-17. Sceva's exorcist sons.
- 20:7-12. Eutychus.
- 23:11. The Lord speaks to Paul.
- 27:21-26. Paul's vision.
- 28:1-6. Paul bitten by the snake.
- 28:7-10. Healing of Publius and others.

Of special interest are Saul's Conversion, the story of non-Christian exorcists, Eutychus, and the three miracles in chapters 27-28. It is noteworthy that this miraculous element appears clearly in the *we*-sections, even though the stories are told in a restrained manner.

There are also at least twenty stories of Paul in which the miraculous element is slight or altogether lacking, and which belong to the *Geschichtserzählung und Legende* category.

- 9:23-25. Saul's escape from Damascus.
- 16:1-3. Circumcision of Timothy.
- 16:6-9. Paul called into Macedonia.
- 16:13-15. Conversion of Lydia.
- 17:33f. Converts in Athens.
- 18:1-3. Paul in Corinth.
- 18:5-11. Preaching in the synagogue at Corinth.
- 18:12-17. Paul before Gallio.
- 18:18. Paul's vow.
- 20:4-6. Paul's companions.
- 20:13-16. Travel.
- 21:1-6. Travel.

21:7-14. Prophecy at Cæsarea.

21:15-20a. Arrival at Jerusalem.

22:22-29. Effect of Paul's speech; discussion with the Roman officer.

22:30-23:10. Paul before the Sanhedrin.

27:1-8. Sail to Fair Havens.

27:9-20. Paul's advice not taken; trouble comes.

27:27-44. Paul saves the sailors.

28:11-16. The journey to Rome.

Among the interesting ones are the Circumcision of Timothy, Paul before Gallio, the prophecy of Cæsarea, the arrival at Jerusalem, and the remaining stories in chapters 27-28. For example, the function served by the prophecy of Agabus at Cæsarea is similar to that of the passion predictions in the gospels (Mark 8:27-33; 9:30-32; 10:32-44 and parallels).

To these we may add three other stories which do not conform so strictly to type, since the author has handled his material freely.

15:1-35. The Council visit to Jerusalem.

17:1-9. Preaching and arrest in Thessalonica.

17:10-15. Evangelization in Berea; journey to Athens.

It is still more difficult to classify narrative and biographical material which binds other narratives together and which we would term "editorial" without further ado but for the fact that it is something more. Sometimes it represents traditional material, sometimes the author's personal observations or researches. Other such material might be found, but the following will serve as sufficient examples.

9:26-30. Paul's visit to Jerusalem.

17:16-21. Paul in Athens.

19:18f. Burning of magical books.

19:23-41. Riot of Artemis worshippers in Ephesus.

We have previously spoken of the prophecy at Cæsarea and the arrival at Jerusalem (21:7-20a). This section leads immediately

to a long story about Paul, a personal legend which stands apart from all the other stories in Acts. We would consider it part of a Passion Narrative without hesitation but for two facts. First, it is followed by the journey to Rome, which is an interlude occurring before the Apostle's martyrdom. Second, the martyrdom is not narrated, probably because it would not serve the writer's main purpose.⁶ Nevertheless, just as half of Mark and nearly half of Luke lead inexorably to our Lord's Passion, so much of Acts looks forward to the end of Paul's life. This quasi-Passion Narrative runs from 21:20b to the end of chapter 26. The fundamental difference between it and our Lord's Passion story is that here Paul is led into a fatal course of action not by his enemies, but by his friends, who urge him to vindicate his Judaism. It is like the gospel Passion Narrative in that both our Lord and St Paul die under divine overruling and after due warning; furthermore, both die (according to St Luke's point of view) because they are zealous Jews in the true sense, and seek to justify the gospel before the nation of Israel.

The story is not so clearly the work of a personal observer as are the narratives in chapters 27-28. But there are clear and circumstantial elements, e.g. 21:26; 22:22-29 (already listed above); 24:26f.; 25:1-6, 12, which suggest that the author was either in close touch with the actual course of events, or has simply painted the picture imaginatively.⁷ In many of the events there is no inherent improbability. The most serious doubt concerns the Agrippa and Bernice episode (25:13-26:32). It reminds one too strongly of Jesus' hearing before Herod Antipas (Luke 23:8-12).

One would not expect that the motivation of this story would be precisely the same as that of the evangelic Passion Narrative. Though in Acts we can discern the beginnings of a cultus of the saints (e.g. in 5:15; 7:54-8:12; 19:11-13), one cannot yet

⁶ Or, as Goodspeed suggests (*New Solutions*, pp. 94 ff.), because of a kind of Greek restraint.

⁷ The mention of the Egyptian (21:38) fits the period chronologically, but Luke could not have heard the conversation.

speak of a fully developed cultus. Furthermore, it is possible to subordinate the martyrology, as Acts does, to the larger purpose of tracing the spread of the gospel. The prime function of this particular narrative seems to be to show that Jesus' greatest apostle is also his worthy follower. He is almost equally patient and innocent, and he is deserving of emulation. Christians, moreover, are Jews in the true sense, while the "orthodox" Jews are so bigoted that they are governed, not by reason but by emotion. Finally, Paul, the Roman citizen, is respectable and law-abiding.

It is of course perfectly clear that none of the stories is told solely for what we call scientific historical reasons. Their motivation is quite clear. They all help to further Luke's plan of telling how the good news spread from Jerusalem to Rome. They are calculated to place St Paul and his mission in the most favorable light possible. They bear witness to harmony in the primitive Church, and seek to show that the best elements in Judaism and paganism bore witness to Christianity as a licit and harmless religion.⁸ But they are told in a straightforward, restrained and sober manner, and in fact the stories of the Pauline cycle do give the impression of standing nearer to the events narrated than do many of the stories in the first half of Acts.

Of course this classification is only the beginning of a study. Each of the pericopes isolated needs to be considered separately, and in Acts the form-critic is in fortunate case because of the rich flowering of additions in the western text, which show just how elements are added to the tradition. Furthermore, the parts which are clearly editorial deserve to be given the fullest consideration.

So far we have said almost nothing about literary sources in Acts. When the synoptic gospels are studied the source-critic has more material but the bulk of the material makes his task somewhat easier. He has most of this material in two or three parallel forms and can see just how much the various redactors have worked it over. In the Acts it is more difficult, for none of

⁸ See especially B. S. Easton, *The Purpose of Acts* (London, 1936).

Acts' sources is extant. We can see many traces of the redactor at work but we do not know with what he had to deal. It is true that in the gospel St Luke lets his sources lie side by side without conflating, but he does work the language over to a very great degree. But in the Acts we cannot tell certainly where one source leaves off and another begins; so that one man's theory is as good as another's, and we have theories, ably defended, that First Acts (i.e. Acts 1:1—15:35) once existed in Aramaic,⁹ or that First Acts was once a continuation of Mark.¹⁰ The theories of Harnack,¹¹ and of Jackson and Lake,¹² have had as many followers as any; but these reconstructions are far from being universally accepted. It may, however, be suggested that in some cases the elements of the tradition have grown together into small sources, as they have done in some parts of Mark and Q. A good example of this is found in the story of Simon Magus (8:9-13), which is sandwiched into the Philip and Samaria cycle, just as the story of the woman with the issue of blood in Mark is inserted into the story of Jairus' daughter (Mark 5:21-43). In the so-called "First Acts" it is especially difficult to determine how much of the material existed in written sources; and it is perhaps better to think of cycles of story clustering about the great names—Peter, Stephen, Philip, Saul and Barnabas, the Apostle Paul.¹³

If one uses the lists given in Sir John Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticae*¹⁴ one finds immediately that there are numerous signs of Luke's style in every section of the narrative; in fact, in practically every verse. Mere word counting and statistics do not furnish an absolutely valuable guide; least of all in the Lucan writings. An actual tabulation of the use of Hawkins' words and phrases in the pericopes of Acts shows that the stories about Paul in chapters 27-28, the stories about Paul elsewhere in Acts,

⁹ C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916).

¹⁰ F. C. Burkitt, "The Use of Mark in the Gospel according to Luke," in Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, II, 106-120.

¹¹ A. von Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles* (New York and London, 1908).

¹² Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, II, 121-204.

¹³ Cf. F. C. Grant, *The Growth of the Gospels* (New York, 1933), p. 175.

¹⁴ J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*² (Oxford, 1909), pp. 15-29.

and the stories about Peter and other apostles, contain roughly the same proportion of Lucan words and phrases. It is perhaps true that the Lucan flavoring is not so strong in "First Acts" as in "Second Acts," though it is strong enough, especially in the story of Peter and Cornelius; but it is difficult to get an absolutely accurate count.

Many students have regarded the "we-sections" as being either the final author's personal diary or one of his sources. But the existence of even this hypothetical source has been challenged by those who say that the first person plural was simply his trick to give verisimilitude to his narrative.¹⁸ The we-sections are crucial in importance for the study of Acts. What, then, can we say about them?

In the first place, the same stylistic traits run through the whole of Acts. It is very hazardous to try to distinguish sources on stylistic grounds. The style of chapters 27-28 is that of the final redactor. But the final we-sections have all the freshness of original composition.

Second, to a very great degree, the same types of narrative material are to be found all through Acts. The narratives fall into the same types or categories; the motivations are much the same throughout. We have miraculous elements appearing as frankly in the last chapters as in the early ones; though the extreme, tale-like narratives tend constantly to disappear as we near the end of the work. But it cannot be emphasized too strongly: in what purports to be autobiographical, and looks to most people as if it were, we have materials which conform somewhat to the character of other materials which have had a long growth in tradition. Of course, the world over, narratives of wonderful healings and the like tend to be the same; people naturally tell of the duration and severity of the illness and the means used for the cure, and emphasize if possible the permanence of the cure. But the fact still remains that the so-called we-sections are very similar to the other parts of the second half of Acts.

There seem to be fundamentally just three possibilities, two

¹⁸ F. Dornseiff, "Lukas der Schriftsteller, mit einem Anhang: Josephus und Tacitus," *ZNW* XXXV (1936), 129-155, especially pp. 137 f.

of which stand in strong opposition to the third. The first is that the second half of Acts, though it seems to be a primary source, consists of material so worked over by the author that we dare not distinguish any sources in it; the second possibility is that it is his imaginative composition on the basis of relatively scanty or relatively rich tradition. The other possibility is the traditional one: that a companion of Paul wrote the whole book, compiling the first half from Antiochene and Jerusalemite traditions and basing the second half on his own experience and researches. Of course he may have been an old man when he did this, and he might not have been very much of a Paulinist at any period of his life. The mediating position, viz. that a companion of St Paul wrote the diary and a later redactor incorporated it into his two volume work, comes to be more and more difficult to hold, though not quite impossible.¹⁸

In passing a final historical judgment on all this material, one would have to deal with some of the basic assumptions of form-criticism. We can classify this material; we can distinguish certain stages in its tradition. But are all paradigms necessarily ideal constructions? Can historical kernels lie behind them and behind miracle stories? And finally—and for our purposes, most important—can we rely on personal and ætiological legends, to use the form-critical term? There are clear motivations behind the author's use of the legend. To say the very least, he exercises a power of selection in gathering his material. But occasionally he retains data which are either neutral or positively embarrassing to his point of view; and so we ask, to what extent do the needs of the primitive Church, or of groups in it, dominate the formation of the tradition? The presuppositions of *Formgeschichte*, as we know it today, are largely those of *Religionsgeschichte*, and these have led to "iron skepticism" in the handling of Acts; hence the importance of our question. The battle ground over this lies not only in the gospels but in the Book of the Acts as well.

¹⁸ Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings*, II, p. 159, of course suggest various forms of the mediating position. In this paragraph, with some trepidation, I take issue with H. Windisch, who wrote the section on "The Case against the Tradition," *Beginnings*, II, 298-348; cf. especially pp. 342 ff.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES: DR HARRISON'S THEORY REVIEWED

By PHILIP CARRINGTON,
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Those who have carefully studied Dr Harrison's *Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford, 1921), will be inclined to regard it as the natural basis for future work on these documents. He finds in 2 Timothy some fragments of letters which he thinks did come from the hand of the apostle; on the other hand he shows that the documents as a whole can hardly be regarded as his own work. Somewhere between these limits lies the truth.

The peculiar excellence of his work lies in the detailed analysis of the vocabulary and style, which leads him to certain conclusions of which the leading points may be summarised as under.

1. *Foreign Words.* This is a convenient phrase in which to describe the very large number of words not used elsewhere in Paul (or indeed for the most part in the N. T.) but which may be illustrated from elegant writers of the first and second centuries. The number is too large to be consistent with direct Pauline authorship. (See Note I.)

2. *Absence of Pauline Words and Constructions.* This phenomenon is found on too large a scale, he thinks, to be explained by a change of literary habits on the part of the apostle. (See Note II.)

3. *Distinctive Phraseology of the Documents.* A list of phrases is given, characteristic of the Pastorals, and not of Paul or any other N. T. document.

4. *Pseudo-Pauline phraseology.* Certain phrases are marked as Pauline indeed, but too Pauline. Dr Harrison regards them as echoes of the undoubted epistles due to familiarity with those epistles on the part of the final author and editor. He copiously

annotates the documents to illustrate this. It is at this point, perhaps, that the student must be on his guard; study of the references leaves the mind in a condition of hesitation to assent to this thesis. While there are passages where it is suggestive, there are others where it is not convincing; all must be carefully weighed.

Then of course there is the difference of theological and ecclesiastical emphasis which has often been pointed out.

The object of this essay is to point out further modes of criticism and research; it accepts without prejudice the work of Dr Harrison as a basis.

1. If the existence of genuine Pauline passages is granted, we are entitled to look for more than Dr Harrison allows. His estimate is wisely conservative; but I think we may say that if in the circle of Timothy there were some genuine Pauline letters preserved, there would be more than he gives us (2 Tim. 1:2 and 15-18, 3:10-11, and 4:1-end, omitting 4:3 and 4). They contain, it is true, the famous farewell passage before martyrdom, but for the most part they consist of personal details. Dr Harrison himself hesitates before he rejects 2 Tim. 1:3-5 with its reference to Lois and Eunice; but we may also consider at least some of the passages which he explains as the reproduction of Pauline phraseology by a student of the recognised epistles.

2. The occurrence of the "foreign words" is by no means evenly distributed throughout the documents. In some passages they are numerous; in others they occur rarely. Now Paul must obviously be allowed a certain number of new words; perhaps even a high number in view of the fact that the subject-matter is also new. In fact each word should be separately tested.

Let us take 1 Timothy. If the foreign words are marked on the page of the Greek Testament, the following passages appear to have more than their fair proportion:

"Foreign Passages" in 1 Timothy

1:3-11. A redactorial introduction?

2:9-10. Women in church. (Perhaps 9-15.)

- 3:1-13. The bishop and deacons.
- 4:6-10. On heresies. (Perhaps 1-10.)
- 5:4-16. On widows.
- 5:21-25. Miscellaneous: not quite so strongly foreign.
- 6:3-10. On heresies and covetousness.
- 6:17-19. On the rich.
- 6:20-21. On heresies.

[Over 90 lines with 155 new words including repetitions.]

It will be understood that this is a very rough estimate, and is no more than a basis for study. It will be noted that it includes some of the points in church organisation which are sometimes thought to be too advanced for the time of Paul.

The passage on the bishop and deacons clearly implies the monarchical episcopate; it is superimposed on a passage which deals with worship, while the elders are treated of in another place. The passage on widows interrupts the sequence of the passage dealing with presbyters.

Again the passage on covetousness (6:9-10) seems to connect admirably with vv. 17-19 on the rich.

3. If we cut these passages out of the epistle, we are left with a document of a more Pauline character. Some passages in it may still be thought to have a foreign colour; others are Pauline, but according to Dr Harrison artificially Pauline.

1 Timothy with "Foreign Passages" omitted

- 1:1-2. Salutation.
- 1:12-17. Thanksgiving (with biographical colour).
- 2:1-8. Directions for prayer: the "foreign" phraseology of v. 2 is simply a common liturgical phrase.
- Add perhaps vv. 12-15.
- 3:14-15. Liturgical fragment.
- 4:1-5. The ascetic heresy: also connected with worship.
- 4:11-16. Exhortation to Timothy to be firm.
- 5:1-2. The elders.
- 5:17-20. The elders, continued. (Add 21-25?)

6:1-2. Slaves.

6:11-16. Final exhortation: doxology.

[Under 90 lines with 71 new words, some of which may be credited to the final author and editor, new subject-matter, quotations etc.]

There are a great many questions which may be asked about this shorter document, which, in the light of Dr Harrison's researches, should still be marked by the absence of certain traits found elsewhere in Paul's writing, and by traits characteristic of the final editor of the Pastorals. But it will be noted that it provides a series of directions on worship and church organisation on lines which the church must have inherited from the synagogue: *cf.* 1 Cor. 13:34 which also appeals to Jewish custom. I forbear to comment on its content.

4. An important word may now be added about the foreign vocabulary.

If the student will take the pains to subject the vocabulary of Romans 1:18-32 to exactly the same analysis which Dr Harrison has used with such excellent results in the case of the Pastorals, he will find that the foreign words are also numerous. Those who think that his arguments are sufficient to disprove the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals, must also conclude that Paul did not write Romans 1:18-32. Nor, in my opinion, did he. He seems to have lifted it from somewhere.

The source from which he took this "apocalypse of God's wrath" is of course unknown to us; but it may be that it was well-known not only to Paul, but also to the persons to whom he was writing in Rome.

Furthermore I think it will be agreed that its vocabulary and tone agree with that of the "foreign passages" in 1 Timothy, especially those which deal harshly with heretical teachers. It is clearly an address to the gentile world of a Greek-Jewish pseudo-philosophical type.

If Paul used material of this kind in Romans, and if it was well-known among Jewish and Jewish-Christian writers, and

above all if it was well-known in Rome, we are forced to look with new interest on the same kind of material where it is found in the Pastorals.

5. It is part of Dr Harrison's thesis that much of the foreign vocabulary is congenial to the apostolic fathers and to the apologists rather than to the first century; this does not necessarily prove that the Pastorals belong to that period; it suggests rather that it draws on the same kind of material as these authors drew on, that is to say Greek-Jewish material of an apologetic, catechetical, liturgical, or philosophical type.

It may be added that the shorter version of the epistle which results when the "foreign passages" are subtracted still owes much to Greek-Jewish synagogue formulæ, but the type is altogether more Hebraic; the mark of the synagogue prayers, of Jewish religious meals, of organisation under elders is unmistakable. On the other hand there is nothing unpauline in this, as is shown by the so-called *Haustafel* in Col. 3:18—4:1, which bears the mark of Jewish catechesis.

6. It must be granted, I suppose, if Dr Harrison's thesis is correct, that the absence of Pauline traits in literary expression is a common characteristic spread throughout the documents, even in the passages which he takes to be genuinely Pauline; with regard to the phrases peculiar to the Pastorals, I venture to think that they are more common in the "foreign passages"; but in a number of cases they seem to act as a link between passages of different types, or as introductory or concluding formulæ.¹

The impression, however, is that the final editor, or whoever is responsible for the literary style of the whole, has worked over the whole of the documents in reducing them to their present order and style.

7. It is now necessary to place these suggestions against a historical perspective. The production of the Pastorals took place in the school of Timothy, presumably at Ephesus. The

¹ E.g. the recurring phrase, 'This is a faithful saying,' may merely introduce a section of new matter.

background is that the original ascendancy of Paul and his companions over a church organised under elders has yielded to an ascendancy of Timothy (and companions?—this might explain the personal notes) over a church organised under elders; this in its turn yielded place to a church in which a bishop and deacons were superimposed upon the organisation of elders.

In this circle, of which Timothy was the original centre as Paul's successor, it was important to assert the continuity of the whole tradition. Genuine letters of Paul to Timothy (and Titus) existed; there was also no doubt the memory of many things he had said; there were also documents which he had highly valued. These materials were edited and published by a writer who had no hesitation in stamping the composition, when complete, with his own individual style; he was well versed in the fashionable literary style of contemporary Greek literature. His work had to be acceptable to a church which knew what Timothy's position had actually been; in fact we have no reason to suppose that Timothy was not still living. It would seem as if heresy of a developed kind, such as we meet in the Johannine writings, Polycarp, and Ignatius, had not yet risen.

It must be insisted that these are preliminary considerations and suggestions, which arise from the study of Dr Harrison's splendid work; they do but indicate further lines of investigation.

NOTE I. *Foreign Words in Romans 1:18–32.*

1. Words not used elsewhere by Paul, but found in other New Testament writers: ἀσέβεια*, γνωστός, αἰδώς ἀσύνετος, φάσκω, τετραποῦς, ἐρπετής, ἀτιμάζω, ἀσχημοσύνη, καθήκειν, μεστός, φόνος(?) ὑβριστής*, ὑπερηφάνος*, ἀλαζών*, ἀπειθής*, ἀστόργος*, δικαίωμα (also Ro. 2:26, 5:16, 5:18, 8:4).

Words marked with * are found in the Pastorals; of these only ὑπερηφάνος and ἀπειθής are formed elsewhere in the N. T.

2. Words not used elsewhere by Paul or by any New Testament writer: καθοράω, θεώτης, ἀνταπολογήτος, ματαιούμαι, μεταλλάσσω, σεβάζομαι, θῆλυς,² χρῆσις, ἐκκαίω, ὄρεξις, κακοηθεία, ψιθυριστής, καταλάλος, θεοστυγής, ἐφευρετής, ἀσυνθέτος, ἀνελεημών.

² But see τὸ θῆλυ (Matt. 19:4, Mk 10:6, both from LXX. Also Gal. 3:28).

This section makes about one page in Souter. There are 18 words found elsewhere in the N. T. but not in Paul (except Pastorals) and 17 not found elsewhere in the N. T. at all; altogether 35 *hapaxlegomena*. A page of the Pastorals often shows about 40.

NOTE II. *Pauline traits wanting in the Pastorals.*

It would appear that Dr Harrison in his lists of Pauline words, etc., wanting in the Pastorals has omitted to point out a consideration which somewhat reduces the effect produced by a first glance over his tables. On p. 31, for instance, we find a list of 41 words occurring in five Pauline epistles but not in the Pastorals; the total number of occurrences is 471.

Now I find in my Oxford New Testament (Souter) that the Pastorals occupy about 14 pages, while the other Pauline epistles occupy about 98 pages. A word which occurs seven times, therefore, in the other Paulines, might on mathematical grounds be expected to occur once in the Pastorals; but in real life we should not be surprised to find it did not occur at all. Its mathematical expectancy rate for the Pastorals is 1; its actual expectancy rate is much less. A word which occurs 14 times in the other Paulines may be said to have a mathematical expectancy rate of 2 for the Pastorals, and at this stage there may begin to be some real probability of occurrence.

It follows that the non-appearance of 41 words which occur 471 times in the other Paulines is not a phenomenon of very high significance, as each word occurs on the average less than 12 times, thus yielding a mathematical expectancy rate for the Pastorals of less than 2.

Distribution then has to be studied. Of the 10 words (of these 41) which show an expectancy rate of 2 or more, the majority owe their high standing to a large number of occurrences in a single epistle; the two highest are *ἄλλος* (31) and *σοφία* (28), but 23 occurrences of *ἄλλος* are in 1 Cor., and 17 occurrences of *σοφία* are in 1 Cor. Their high standing is not due to their being characteristic of Paul as an author; he does without them in

Romans which is 25 pages, nearly twice the length of the Pastorals.

The continued list on p. 32 contains many words which reach a higher rate, and some of these may have some significance.

Of the Particles etc., listed on p. 36, none reach the significant expectancy rate of 2; of those listed on p. 36, 23 out of 36 do so, and warrant careful study.

Of the grammatical peculiarities on pp. 38ff., only two reach the rate of 2 or more.

The object of this note is not to pass judgment on the value of Dr Harrison's tables, but to suggest the way in which they should be studied.

Church Congress Syllabus No. 3

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN AND
SALVATION

PART II. THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SALVATION

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"Salvation," in some sense of the term, has been the universal desire of the human race; and religions, of every type and degree of spirituality, have claimed to offer it. "Salvation" for the Hindu consists in a realization of his identity with Brahma: "I am that"; for the Buddhist it is found in a state of utter passivity or quiescence, the death of desire or Nirvana; for the Moslem in total obedience to a divine and sovereign Will, leading to a paradise of almost materialistic bliss after this life. For the Christian, salvation has a very specific meaning, bound up somehow with Jesus Christ and what he (as God's most direct act for men and as man) has effected, and interpreted after the Jewish analogy as fullness of spiritual (not excluding but including material) life, rather than as negation, mystic identification alone, or a heaven conceived on a grossly flesh-like model. With all its similarities and parallels with other notions of "salvation," the Christian conception is unique in the history of religion, although it roots out of the Hebrew background from which Christianity itself emerged and has been shaped historically in various ways through its contacts with other religious or philosophical systems.

How is salvation (as the Christian understands it) to be achieved? "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." What is salvation, on the Christian understanding? "I am come that they might have life, and have it more abundantly." From what is salvation the deliverance? "Reckon ye yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus

Christ." Thus our theme is set. Our principal concern must be with the *meaning* of salvation, and the *means* by which it is achieved. This will involve a consideration of the doctrine of the Atonement, and the various ways in which that doctrine has been presented. It will also involve the attempt to sketch some of the fundamental ideas and values which must find their place in an adequate conception of what for the Christian is implied in "being saved." It will not demand a discussion of the doctrine of sin, for this has already been done in an earlier paper in the series. Passing references must be made to that doctrine, of course; but for our purposes we may say briefly that sin is to be understood as on the one hand wilful and conscious failure to obey God's purposes, thus breaking the free and full relationship between him and us; and on the other hand, the impairing or thwarting of that development of our natures as men (and therefore, as sons of God) which God has purposed for us.

I

The root idea of the Hebrew conception of "salvation," applied in most instances to the nation or people as a whole rather than to the individual, is expansion or growth. When the prophet speaks of the salvation or redemption of his people, he means that God will spare them from that which would impede their proper development *as* his people. Implicit in that, naturally, is the saving of the people *from* something—in this case from such attacks as would make them unable to live a full national life as the chosen of Jahweh. But etymologically, and in the wider context as well, expansion or growth is the fundamental idea. With the transference of the idea of the kingdom to "the heavenlies," there came inevitably a more distinctive "other-worldly" note; but the healthy materialism of the Jews prevented a total loss of the other conception.

With our Lord himself, salvation apparently did not mean eternal bliss in the sense merely of a happy future life with God. It meant rather that fullness of being which flowing through a

man made him a saving force for others, and constituted him and all those who shared that Spirit a "spearhead" of the Kingdom of God, which while present in the world in Jesus and his followers was also future and everlasting because it was of God and in the last resort might be called God's presence, power and activity itself. Sin was the clogging of this free flow of power; it prevented the healthy fullness of life which was God's will for men, and which explained the Jewish Law as designed to set men in right relations with God and with their fellows.

The New Testament Church, conscious of the inflowing of that power of God brought about through the impact of Jesus, historic, crucified and risen, could make no sharp distinction between here and hereafter so far as "salvation" was concerned. The Christian was "in Christ," and death did not alter the fact; or the Christian was possessed by the Spirit, and shared in the life of God so intimately that no incident could break down the communion which, beginning now, would run into eternity. In either instance, the redemption which was a vital fact of Christian experience implied the living of life which was life indeed, so that earlier righteousness was as "filthy rags" and the world which did not know this supreme reality appeared to be "in darkness."

By belief in Jesus Christ, which meant not merely intellectual assent to certain propositions about him (although it involved that, certainly) but the placing of one's total trust and confidence in him, the Christian was put in right relationship with God who had sent Christ to be the saviour of the world, and who (through his death and rising-again) had released power into the world which could make men clean and strong, able while yet remaining sinners (because caught in a dilemma of will, which made them choose lesser rather than greater goods) to be empowered by the Spirit and gradually conformed to the image of the Son, set forth as "the first-born of many brethren." But it should be carefully noted that this process was, in the early centuries, conceived as possible (in its completest sense) only within the Christian fellowship, for here the "means of grace" were available for

moulding men to be Christ-like, and delivering them from darkness into light.

The Christian faith, then, was not the following of Jesus as a great teacher of religion; on the contrary, says Mr Nock (*Conversion*, p. 210), Christ "is a saviour rather than a pattern, and the Christian way of life is something made possible by Christ the Lord through the community rather than something arising from the imitation of Jesus. The central idea is that of divinity brought into humanity to complete the plan of salvation, not that of perfect humanity manifested as an inspiration; it is *Deus de deo* rather than *Ecce homo*." And the purpose of the whole plan, the divine intention which was behind the "mighty acts" of God in the life, death, resurrection, continued presence in the Church of Jesus Christ the Son of God, was that men might become that which God had intended them to be, his sons—that which by sin they had failed to achieve through the frailty of their nature and the tendency to lesser goods and partial realizations.

II

To explain this central reality of Christian life, which has persisted throughout the history of our religion, various statements have been devised by theologians. There have been many conceptions of "the atonement." These have stressed one aspect or another of the reality itself. They may therefore be seen as partial and complementary; no one of them can exhaust the truth of "God in Christ reconciling the world to himself." We shall mention some of these, and characterize them briefly.¹

Sacrifice. Because man is a sinner, and has failed to become the adequate instrument for God's purposes, he suffers the consequence of being a broken, defeated being. His friendship with God, which is the *only enduring reality* that can give life meaning, has been shattered from man's side. He cannot restore it. But Christ, as representative man, can offer to God that obedience

¹ I am indebted in part for this list to Dr M. Bowyer Stewart of General Seminary.

and share with God that friendship which are his by reason of his perfect union with Divine Reality. Hence, by union with Christ, by life "in Christ," the imperfect human being who is alienated from God may now approach the Father through the free offering of the Son. While we were yet sinners, Christ shared our human lot and made on our behalf that sacrifice of will to the Father which reached its culmination on the Cross.

Justification. Man is in wrong relations with his heavenly Father. He cannot live abundantly as God's son, because sin comes between him and God. But our Lord, fully the Son of God, has come into the world. We deserve to be utterly and eternally separated from the Father; yet, because Christ has come and given us his energizing power, we may say:

Look, Father, look on his anointed face,
And only look on us as found in him.

By the power of Christ we may become like Christ; and God "declares us acquit" of our sin and treats us as his dear children, because we can (and by his grace, we will) be like his Son.

Ransom. Man has sold himself to narrow selfishness, to hatred, to malice, to pride and all manner of evil. Of these, the devil is the symbol; for the devil represents that which is actively at enmity with God. Man cannot win himself back; he cannot buy himself out of his captivity. Only "the expulsive power of a new affection," the love which is able to pull us out of ourselves, can do that. Christ, not merely by exhibiting God's love but by enacting it and being it, pours that love into our hearts, and ransoms us from "the devil." His death on Calvary is most properly regarded as the victory of divine love over the wickedness of "demon"-possessed men; that victory was guaranteed on Easter, and made an effective reality for his followers through the Church on Pentecost. Full life, which is life in God and with God, making men what they are meant to be, is possible by participation in the victory. The battle was won

Where He, the Life, did death endure
And by his death our life procure.

Transfusion. The life which man possesses is feeble, even bad, because it has been permeated by his self-seeking. Human nature is not meant by God to be like that, however; sin is a radical defect but not of the essence of humanity—even as streptococcus germs are said to be found in all men, yet are not essentially human. By the coming of the God-Man, and by the participation in his life which is rendered possible by fellowship in the Church and reception of his power in sacramental union, a new life (as it were, a blood-transfusion from God to man) is poured into us. It is the life of love which is God's; and it radically transforms human nature if it is let have its way. "God became man that we might become divinized," said St Athanasius; here the stuff of God's life, which is Christ's substantial love, is released into the world and conforms men to God by making them "sharers of the divine nature."

Payment of Debt. Because man was created to be the son of God and has failed to live up to that calling, he owes God satisfaction for the failure. Yet God in Christ has taken action by which, through his giving himself for men, he unites himself with humanity and offers that perfect satisfaction of obedient service unto death which man would offer (and at his best knows he should offer) to God were he able to do so. God on man's behalf, in the person of the Incarnate Son, apologizes for human sin. He says the "I'm sorry" which restores open relationships, and which the offender wants to say if he could bring himself to do it, and could do it adequately.

These are a few of the traditional conceptions of the *means* by which salvation has been brought to men. Presented simply and in perhaps novel language, they will suggest significant aspects of the process, and perhaps require completion by other views which have not been mentioned. Chief among these will be the so-called Abelardian conception. The exhibition of God's love in the life, and supremely the death, of Jesus awakens in us an answering love and a desire to be obedient to the Father's will, even as Jesus himself was obedient. Man is shown as the sort of being who could kill Incarnate God; but God is shown as the

sort of being who could still love man and bear the consequences of that murder. So man responds to such a freely given love; he is morally changed, repents of his "deicidal sinfulness," and strives to become like Christ.

There is deep truth here; but unless we go beyond "example," "showing" and "exhibition," and find on Calvary (and in the total life of Christ) the very action of God himself on man's behalf, radically altering the human situation, we have omitted essential features of the Christian experience of redemption.

In any case, the atonement will involve action from God to man, the divine initiative, calling forth action from man to God. Inasmuch as our Lord is God-in-Man and Man-in-God (God-Man), there is in him that double movement of divine activity for us, and human activity towards God. The two are in some sort distinguishable, but they cannot be separated. And the purpose which governs the entire process is that men might become, by the supremely characteristic and uniquely effectual action of Divine Reality in Christ, that which they were intended to be, that which their deep-rooted self-seeking has prevented their being: sons of Gods, heirs of eternal life, true men.

III

Salvation, for the Christian, is full, abundant life. It is not confined to this world, nor confined to heaven; it includes both and demands both. It is not "pie in the sky when you die," nor is it "personality adjustment" on this planet; it is deepening, widening, strengthening life with God here and forever. It involves the integration of the human personality in the sense that all impulses, instincts, desires, willings, and even more fundamental physical urges, are centred upon the profound and enduring Reality of God. There is an adjustment of human personality to God which lifts the personality from narrowness, self-seeking and self-concern; by falling in love with God, the human emotional, volitional and intellectual life has an adequate object of concern and search. The tendency for self-assertion (or for lower satisfactions) is not broken, since it has become so deeply

rooted in man that this cannot be, so far as we can picture man as existential being. But that tendency can, within limits, be controlled, and the other tendency—to "love the highest when we see it," or to seek the *best* rather than the merely good—can be strengthened.

This cannot be done, however, by man himself. It is impossible for us to achieve our destiny without action from outside. On the other hand, such action from outside is useless unless appropriated, assimilated and freely given rein. There must be human response as well as divine initiative. In the historic process, God moves by event and through persons to make himself known and to win human response. Supremely in the fact of Christ he has made himself known and available as more than "Creator of all"; as "active Lover of all." By faith in Christ, which involves acceptance of him as Lord, participation in his purposes, adoration of him as "altogether lovely," dedication to his demands and renunciation of all that is contrary to his will, man begins to achieve (or rather, God begins to achieve in man) full and true life, with the moral fruits which are its outward signs. But even that is not all. By the self-offering of Christ, now seen as focal point of the Divine Activity for man amongst men and as a man, a power is poured out which can so radically alter human nature, *from* its self-seeking *to* an "other-regarding" integration, that it can become in its degree the instrument for the healing and enriching of a wearied and distraught world.

This is not to deny some measure of that life to non-Christians, nor does it say anything about "eternal destiny" in the sense of judgment on who is or who is not to be brought in the end into fellowship with God. Concerning that, *we* have no information; and *we* have no right to make decisions. God is the judge; he it is "unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid." There may be many in heaven whom we should hardly expect to find there; provided, that is, that we ourselves are fit to be welcomed to the heavenly habitations.

Be that as it may, our task is decisively to make known the salvation—the fullness of life in God made available through

Christ—which has been given to us through the Christian Church. And it is also our task to see to it that the wider social implications of that gospel, with the tremendous alterations which it demands in our economic, industrial, political and national life, are understood. For while human sin renders forever impossible the building of the Kingdom of God in this world, divine salvation demands the insistent effort to build up in this world a city which will be fit for the sons of God, and which will help prepare them for and not consistently hinder them from sharing in the Kingdom which abides eternal with God but whose power works in this world wherever Christ's salvation is known.

Note: It is suggested that discussion be about three central themes:

1. What does salvation mean for the New Testament Church?
2. a. How adequately are the values there set forth preserved in later doctrines of the atonement?
b. What part do doctrines of the atonement play in our idea of salvation? What abiding values are to be found in such traditional views of the atonement as the ransom theory, the feudal theory, the exemplarist theory, the substitutionary theory? How can these values be separated from the shell in which they are often presented?
3. a. How do these conceptions agree or disagree with the root-meaning of the word, in Old and New Testament times?
b. What are some effective means of presenting salvation (as an idea) to people today? Relation to psychological research and personality adjustment should be stressed: but how does salvation differ from these alone?
c. "Salvation is not fire-insurance, but life-insurance." Comment on and discuss this clever homiletical remark.
d. What is the relation of the individual and of society to the salvation wrought in Christ?
e. What is the relation between salvation here and now, and a "blessed life after death"? Are non-Christians "saved"? if so, how? and why is Christianity crucial if non-Christians are "saved"?

Suggestions for reading:

Aulen, *Christus Victor*.
 Franks, *The Atonement*.
 Thornton, *The Incarnate Lord*.
 Mozley, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*.
 Dawson, *The Atonement*.
 Mackintosh, *Christian Experience of Forgiveness*.
 Barry, *The Relevance of Christianity*.
 Quick, *The Doctrine of the Creed* (under second paragraph).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Apocrypha. An American Translation. By E. J. Goodspeed. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. 493. \$3.00.

The notice on the jacket says, "It is unfortunate that they [the books of the Apocrypha] have been dropped from all editions of the Bible in America." The word unfortunate should be changed to untrue: there is beside me a Bible published in New York in 1903 containing all the Apocrypha, and of course all Church bibles must have it, for the Episcopal Church regularly uses lessons from the Apocrypha at Morning and Evening Prayer. It is however strange that this is the first translation of *all* the Apocrypha made directly from the Greek: hitherto the translations of some of the books have been revisions of translations made from the Latin; we therefore owe Dr. Goodspeed a debt of gratitude for his American translation. It is an *American* translation: we were accustomed to read that Susanna said, "I am straitened on every side," but now she says, "I am in a tight place." The translations, so far as it has been possible to check it in a limited time, is smooth and accurate, in fact just what might be expected from its author.

A. H. FORSTER.

Das Ethos des Alten Testaments. By Johannes Hempel. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1938, pp. viii + 287. RM. 14.

This is the sixty-seventh Beiheft to the Old Testament *Zeitschrift* and is a sequel to Professor Hempel's *Gott und Mensch im AT* which appeared in 1926. What he aims to do in this volume is to study the real inner ethos of the Hebrew people, as variously reflected in the Old Testament, and taking account of their racial diversity and political vicissitudes. The ancient Hebrews were by no means one unified *folk*. Politically and economically, as well as religiously, they were divided and sub-divided, like all the other nations of the earth. However, they had a strong sense, or at least there developed among them a strong sense, of unity and it was in ancient Hebraism that society came to be viewed as what one might call an ethical entity—with emphasis on its religious rather than its political connotations (pp. 87ff). It was out of this long course of development from the primitive family up to the religious-ethical unit of the sacred people that there emerged eventually the conception of a purely religious unity—destined eventually for tragic collision with the purely political entities in the surrounding world: entities which, if not purely political in every case, for example the Roman Empire, at least subordinated religion to political ends.

Dr. Hempel's book naturally deals with the earlier period, viz. that of the Old Testament; but it is easy to see how the lines here followed may be projected into the future—were in fact projected into the future, and have been followed more or less for two thousand years.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Alter und Aufkommen des Monotheismus in der Israelitischen Religion. By Bruno Balscheit. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1938, pp. vii + 144. Not priced.

The expert in any field who attempts to make intelligible to laymen the results of his research is constantly confronted with the danger of over-simplification. If he takes the risk, as he sometimes must, he must then be on his guard lest what was intended to be a summary of salient points be taken as a comprehensive statement, not only by his hearers but perhaps by himself, with disastrous effect upon his own thinking.

Such a summary statement is the familiar one that Hebrew religion, until then monolatrous, attained to monotheism during and as a result of the experiences of the exile. The danger is threefold. It may lead to an underestimation of the dynamic in pre-exilic Jahvism, making for monotheism. It may convey the impression that the nation as a whole was weaned from the worship of other gods during the years of the exile. And, consequently, it may result in a failure to discern the implications of the devoted work of the deuteronomist school who in the years succeeding the exile tirelessly proclaimed the unity of God to a people, many of whom were still patient of polytheism.

Herr Balscheit's book aims to correct the first of these possible dangers (though it does not entirely avoid the others). Monotheism, he points out, is not the simple concept it is sometimes carelessly thought to be. It is impossible of attainment without a certain awareness, however, inchoate, both of the unity of the external world and of the inner unity of the experiencing subject. This awareness itself derives in part from a sense, vague and confused though it be, of the unity of the unseen power standing over against the subject, and should result in a heightening and clarifying of that sense, until this power is apprehended as limiting, controlling, and so unifying all phenomena. Widening experience must therefore be accompanied by a continual enrichment of the idea of God. A monotheism of this kind, however, as the author further insists, would be merely philosophical. Hebrew monotheism was religious, recognizing this controlling power as personal and righteous, demanding men's trust, devotion, and absolute surrender.

Herr Balscheit examines the ideas of the Mosaic period to ascertain to what extent unification was achieved. This he finds was not complete; the existence of the gods of other peoples was not questioned. But there was discernible even then a tendency towards unification, and in the succeeding chapters of his book he traces the development and strengthening of this tendency, the steady, often painful, unification by Hebrew thought of new phenomena and even more varied experience, religious and profane.

Though many will find themselves compelled to dissent from certain details in the author's interpretation and dating of his material, they will find that the value of the book is only slightly lessened. In his reconstruction of the history of the exodus and the conquest, he has relied too much upon Gressmann's evaluation of the legends, with the result that not only has he carried back to Moses ideas which did not emerge until later; but he has been prevented from recognizing that the Song of Deborah, in its absence of the mention of other gods, and in its note of frenzied abandon to Jahveh, provides

evidence for the occurrence in pre-Mosaic Jahvism of what has been acutely described as "momentary monotheism." Substantiation is thus furnished for the statement (p. 28) that the idea of God, historically based upon the events of the exodus, was energized by a dynamic which would not tolerate any conscious formulation of the question as to the existence of other gods. Again, the author regards the deuteronomic movement as a whole as having antedated Deutero-Isaiah. If, as this reviewer believes to have been the case, much of the work of this school is post-exilic, then the culmination of the development was not reached until the fifth century B. C., but the author's main thesis is not affected.

One closes the book with the reflection that the process of unification of experience which the leaders of Israel so valiantly carried through needs to be renewed and continued by the Christian Church today, if it is to avoid intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy.

C. A. SIMPSON.

A Political History of Parthia. By Neilson C. Debevoise. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xlv + 303. \$3.00.

One of the fascinating things about the study of the ancient orient is that it seems to offer a bottomless reservoir from which emerges one shadowy, mysterious, fascinating empire after another. Names which have had more of an atmosphere than a substance startlingly rise to life under the skilled and painstaking hand of the historian. There is something of the magic of chemistry in the work of the laboratory historian these days, with his poring over obscure inscriptions, careful reworking of known materials, finding a hint here on a coin, there on a clay tablet the size of a cigarette lighter, putting it all together until a nation arises out of the smoke of the test-tube.

Something of this sort Dr Debevoise has achieved. To most of us the Parthians have been identified almost wholly with their peculiar type of "shot," or their relations with otherwise successful Roman leaders, both with a faint tint of unpleasantness about them. Now, out of those mists of impressions, like "the obscure mists to the east of the Caspian Sea" of which the author speaks, Parthian horsemen ride across the pages.

The period of the Parthians was a pregnant one. When "in 141 B.C. their squadrons clattered down the passes and conquered the fertile lands" of Mesopotamia they formed that diversion of the interest of the Seleucids that the Maccabees needed to accomplish their successful revolt. Their constant threat to Roman power until their fall in 212 A.D. provided who can say how much of a breather for early Christianity. When finally they fell it was their successors, the Sassanians, that removed one of the most vicious and vigorous persecutors the Christians were to know, the emperor Valerian. It is only as we read the long record of intrigues, revolts, wars and struggles with which the three hundred and fifty years of Parthia are filled that we can appreciate many actions and events in Rome.

As in Dr Cameron's *History of Ancient Iran*, so in this *Political History of Parthia*, the author would seem to have pointed the way for more exhaustive study of a people rather than to have said the last word. The frame-

work has been provided at what is obviously long and hard labor but the filling-in still remains to be done. It does not seem too much to hope that with this difficult spade work done the remainder of the structure may take rapid shape. Certainly Dr Debevoise's book is one that must find its place on the shelves of every student of the Ancient Orient.

ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR.

The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of their Faith. By Louis Finkelstein. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1938, 2 vols., pp. xxviii + 793. \$5.00.

The book opens with a sweeping claim for the importance of Pharisaism: "Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism all derive from this ancient Palestinian Society; and through their influence in the preservation and advancement of learning, it has become the cornerstone of modern civilization. . . . Fully half the world adheres to Pharisaic faiths; only one fourth as many people follow Confucius, and less than one sixth as many are Buddhists." This surprising claim can be substantiated, certainly, as far as Pharisaic influence goes; whether or not Christianity and Mohammedanism are derived from Pharisaism is something else. The whole position could be 'scooped' by a Zoroastrian, say, who might claim that his religion produced Judaism, Christianity, Islam—and Pharisaism too! In the history of religion, similarity is not identity, nor does influence prove dependence.

The author accounts for this successful advance by citing the social ideas and ideals of Pharisaism: "Its doctrines did not offer redemption; they brought it. . . . The submerged were the equals of the patricians; women were the equals of men; slaves were the equals of masters. All alike were children of God, created in His Image."—But were these the distinctive doctrines of the Pharisees? The tendency of their teachings no doubt lay in that direction; but was social equality not, rather, a by-product? Even in early Christianity this was not distinctive, but incidental; as a distinctive teaching, was it not equally—and perhaps more so—the teaching of the Roman Stoics?—with whom Philo, e.g., and the Christian Fathers, had much in common.

It is this sweeping logic of generalization that gives one pause, more than once, in reading Finkelstein's brilliant work, and compels one to place interrogation marks in the margin. Was Roman opposition to the Jews really the result of patrician suspicion of 'a religion which openly preached the equality of mankind and the futility and wickedness of war'? Was it not rather a continuation of the anti-Semitism that antedated the Empire, and broke out repeatedly in other quarters than in Rome? One wonders too if Christian opposition to idolatry was any more outspoken than Jewish—compare, as Elmslie has done, Tertullian's work with the tractate Abodah Zara in the Mishna. Jewish proselytism was surely pretty well advanced in the first century, as not only the literature but also the archeological remains indicate—records from all over the Mediterranean world of that period.

It is this initial caution, aroused on the reader's part by the Foreword, that follows him throughout the work. Was Pharisaism so completely the outcome of Old Testament Prophecy: "Prophecy in action"? Were the Phari-

sees so exclusively urban, their rivals, the Sadducees, so exclusively rural, 'the rich land-owning class'? The story is told in terms of modern sociology; but does the urban-rural conflict, which Finkelstein takes to be fundamental in all social progress and change, really amount to as much as he supposes, in ancient Palestine? And does it account for as much as he assumes? On the contrary, we had been led to believe—from the ancient literature itself, and from such modern interpreters as Abrahams, Montefiore, T. Herford, and G. F. Moore—that Pharisaism was really a religious rather than a social, or sociological, movement. Many modern Jews have a blind spot for religion, i.e., for prayer, devotion, meditation, and 'acts of faith' generally. Sociology has taken its place. One explanation of this phenomenon is no doubt the fact that ordinary Judaism is a thoroughly this-worldly complex of religious and semi-religious practices: not a 'faith' at all, as some would define it, but solely a practice, i.e. of traditional ceremonial, moral, civil-religious rites, customs, and requirements, in brief the observance of a Law. The present work illustrates this limitation; for after making the sweeping claims with which he begins, the author proceeds to describe the religious movement of Pharisaism in such terms as render his thesis completely untenable. No purely sociological situation ever gave rise, surely, to such a movement as Pharisaism, one that was far more religious than Finkelstein represents! For example, he leaves Apocalypticism entirely out of account, and yet insists that Pharisaism produced Islam! How can the rise of Islam be accounted for if its eschatology is left in the background? He claims that Pharisaism was dedicated to the cause of peace—a kind of ancient Peace Society. But he forgets Akiba and Bar Kochba, apparently. And though claiming that Pharisaism produced Christianity, it was chiefly through Paul of Tarsus, apparently: Jesus is rarely mentioned! Or must we infer that Finkelstein is one of those curious scholars who hold that Paul was the real founder of Christianity?

For all this, the author has amassed a quantity of information that will help the Christian reader to gain a fairer view of the Pharisees; and we must be grateful for this rich expansion of his striking article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, which many scholars, both Jewish and Christian, have already noted and used (H. T. R. xxii [1929], 185-261). Moreover, the author's new perspective does certainly permit a fresh and convincing explanation of many a hitherto unexplained and obscure controversy between Pharisees and Sadducees, and also within Pharisaism itself.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

Origins of the Gospels. By Floyd V. Filson, with a foreword by Frederick C. Grant. Abingdon, 1938, pp. 216. \$2.00.

It is difficult to review a book with which the reviewer finds himself agreeing so largely. Professor Filson at first designed these lectures for summer conferences, hence they are comprehensible to the student who lacks previous technical knowledge. By adding to this book the manuals of Redlich and Grant the average student will find nearly everything that he needs. For the most part the author allows his own conclusions to remain in the background (though he has convictions), and at times the book assumes the character of

a discussion of modern critical literature. The bibliographical material is adequate.

We may summarize some of the conclusions. The author doubts that complete Aramaic gospels existed, though he grants all that can be said about the Semitic character of our documents. He uses form criticism as a useful tool, though he rejects the negative excesses of many of the critics, and regards the gospel material as fundamentally trustworthy. In source criticism, he rejects Otto's idea that there was a single comprehensive gospel source or *Stammsschrift*; he holds to the existence of Q but doubts that Proto-Luke and M were ever documents.

The Marcan tradition is essentially Palestinian and at least some of it is Petrine. Mark did not originally end at 16:8. Luke-Acts was written by the companion of St Paul, and is not dependent upon Josephus. Mark is dated 65-70; Matt., about 85; Luke, 80-85, and Acts, 80-90. It is possible to know much about Jesus' life and teaching. Despite the value of the Passion Predictions for the later Church, Jesus probably foretold His own death; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that He foresaw the catastrophe mentioned in Luke 21:20.

Dr Filson combines the usual critical view of the authorship and date of the Fourth Gospel with a vigorous championship of its theological and spiritual value. "He 'modernized' the gospel. . . . But it is the *gospel* that he modernized" (p. 199).

This is a churchly book, and many will welcome it because it takes seriously the Church's faith and at the same time seeks to give the Church in general—not merely the specialist—the values of modern biblical study. "The Protestant system of volunteer teaching in church schools is largely a farce because the lay teachers have received no adequate guidance from ministers concerning historical and literary questions. . . . The time is passing when a few pious morals derived from 'lesson leaflets' will give general satisfaction or hold youth for the Church" (pp. 139f).

There is one misprint on p. 163.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON.

Itala. Das Neue Testament in Altlateinischer Überlieferung. Vol. I. Matthäusevangelium. By Adolf Jülicher. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1938, pp. 214. RM 40.

Jülicher had devoted a great deal of time and trouble to the editing of the Old Latin versions of the New Testament and the material which he left is now being put through the press by Walter Matzkow, who is to be congratulated on the form of the book. Variant readings are given immediately below each line and not clustered at the foot of the page; this is a plan which produces grateful readers. The top line gives the text of the so-called *Itala* version, otherwise known as European, below is the text of the *Afra* or African version, and in between, variant readings and *Vulgate* readings where the *Vulgate* differs from *Itala*. For example in Matt. 4:5, *Itala* reads *pinnam templi*, below is *fastigium*, the reading of *Afra*, and between, *pinnaculum*, the reading of the *Vulgate*. Jülicher (*Introduction to the New Testament*, Eng.

Tr., p. 611) does not seem to have been convinced by Burkitt's theory that by Itala, St Augustine meant Jerome's revision; nor indeed were Wordsworth and White (*Epilogus ad Evangelia*, p. 656). However the version which Jülicher calls Itala is the one which Jerome followed: in the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven there are only three words in which the Vulgate differs from Itala. This is certainly the most convenient work now available for the study of the Old Latin and it is good news that the next part (*Markus-Evangelium*) will soon appear.

A. H. FORSTER.

Geschichte der Alten Kirche. By Hans Lietzmann. Vol. III. *Die Reichskirche bis zum Tode Julians.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1938, pp. viii + 346. RM. 4.80.

The first two volumes of Lietzmann's *Alte Kirche* were deservedly praised in the January, 1937, number of this REVIEW. Incorporating the most recent researches and resting upon a fresh scrutiny of both the written sources and the archaeological data (a matter too frequently neglected), the work is the most important contribution to the history of the early Church that has appeared in many years.

The third volume covers the period from Valerian to Julian (260-363)—only a century, but a century momentous in the life of the Church: the last and most terrible of the persecutions, the conversion of Constantine, profound transformations in the external circumstances of Christianity resulting from the revolution in the Emperor's attitude; elaboration in respect to ecclesiastical organization, cultus and architecture; the slow decline of paganism and its brief revival under the Apostate; new moral problems arising out of the changed situation; the Donatist schism and the founding of the Christian city of Constantine to challenge the dominance of Alexandria, Antioch, even of Rome itself; above all, the bitter and complicated Arian controversy, prolonged far beyond the terminus of this volume, and giving rise to an extensive theological literature, synod upon synod, a mad confusion of creeds, the rash intervention of emperors which only obscured the true issue and delayed its solution. It is perhaps significant of the growing unity (in a geographical sense) of the imperial Church that Lietzmann has abandoned the territorial treatment which he used to such advantage in the earlier volumes.

Along with his use of archaeological material and the uncommon attention which he pays to eastern factors, the most striking feature of the volume is Lietzmann's interpretation of the struggle between Arianism and the faith of Nicaea. Here we have a break, not only with tradition, but with much that is recently written. The adoption of the *homoousios* is represented as both a misfortune and a mystery: the former because the word had a bad reputation and had been keeping bad company; the latter because we can not account for its appearance in the creed of Nicaea, its reputation being what it was. Lietzmann does not think favorably of Loofs' tempting suggestion that the term was proposed by Hosius of Cordova, even though on an earlier page he has remarked that *homoousios* is the Greek equivalent of Tertullian's *unius substantiae*. We are told that for a generation after the Council there were no Nicene

theologians and could not be, since the catchword was as yet incapable of being worked into a sound theology; and in this connection we are reminded that in his earlier writings Athanasius made little use of *homōusios*. Only in the fifth decade, after the term had been purged of its Sabellian connotations, could theologians warmly defend it. In the earlier course of the controversy—so Lietzmann insists—the battle was not waged about this catchword of orthodoxy. "Rather, that which disquieted the Church was old antagonisms of a theological or power-political (*machtpolitischer*) sort, and these now received a new sharpness as leading churchmen discovered that the State could put into the hands of combatants upheld by imperial favor unlimited external means for the overthrow of their opponents" (p. 113). Should the Bishop of Alexandria, or he of Constantinople, be the Pope of the Eastern Church? Athanasius, no scientific theologian but an unbending politician and a dominating religious personality, was able to pour such a light upon the course of events that to the present day he has blinded the eyes of the most painstaking investigators as to the true issues involved.

Yet between East and West existed deep differences of theological thinking and in some respects of religious feeling. The West found the *homōusios* not uncongenial, since it was less deferential to Origen's theology, less obsessed by fear of Sabellianism. Then there was the old friendship between Rome and Alexandria, making for alliance against the upstart see of Constantinople. Perhaps, too, the West had an intuitive sense of religious values. At any rate "a straight line runs from Sardica to the separation of 1054" (p. 202).

P. V. NORWOOD.

A History of the Expansion of Christianity. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. Vol. II. *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty.* Harper, 1938, pp. ix + 492. \$3.50.

Professor Latourette is undertaking to write the story of the spread of Christianity on a scale without parallel or precedent in English. Vol. I (see A. T. R., Vol. XX, no. 1) covers only the first five centuries. The volume before us continues the account for another thousand years—a millenium which includes the "age of faith" and the allegedly "greatest of centuries." Yet Dr Latourette elects to call it the "thousand years of uncertainty," because through the whole of it the future promise of the Gospel was by no means evident. Even as late as 1500, "the coming centuries might well have appeared to belong to Islam. In the Mediterranean world Islam was dominant in all the ancient centres of civilization except Italy, Spain, and Southern France. It controlled Mesopotamia and Persia. It was strong in Central Asia and was represented by communities in India and China which were still to experience a steady growth. Moslem merchants were in possession of most of the trade routes between the Far East and the West. . . . Christianity was slowly yielding its remaining footholds in Asia. Even in Europe, in the Southeast, it was threatened by Moslem Turks, flushed with victory; and in the West it was torn by internal strife and menaced by scepticism" (p. 342). Then came Columbus and the Portugese navigators to open up a new world, and the Reformation and Catholic revival to purify the Church.

In a series of chapters, some of them far too long, the story is carried forward by a method which combines chronological and geographical treatment. First, the spread of the Gospel among the Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples, a work in which devoted missionaries from Ireland and England played such a noble part. Then, the missions of Roman Catholic Christianity among the Western and Southern Slavs, with appendix on efforts to convert the Jews. Next, two chapters on the extension of the faith in its eastern forms: Byzantine among the Russians and the Balkan Slavs, Nestorian in a romantic march into China and India. Chapters 6 and 7 are devoted to the menace of Islam, the counter-advance of Christianity (the Crusades and the missions of the late medieval period), and the check which this promising enterprise met at the hands of Mongols and Turks. For the most part it is a story of dedication, courage, and noble purpose; but of course there is the less lovely side, where Christianity was preached for secular ends or imposed by the sword.

Dr Latourette has made himself thorough master of his subject, as his countless footnotes and exhaustive chapter-bibliographies attest. One is pleased by his lack of dogmatism; where scholarly opinion differs he commonly indicates the fact, and records his own conclusions with praiseworthy reserve. (The problem of St Columba, pp. 55f, is a case in point.) The reader may find his interest flagging as names and facts unroll, page after page; but occasional recapitulations will revive him, and repetition enables him to keep the thread of the narrative. One could but wish, however, that the author had 'let himself go' in a sparkle worthy of so noble a theme. Raymon Lull, for example, is a figure to kindle any man's imagination. Latourette tells his dramatic story without warmth or glow.

Two final chapters assess the beneficent influences of Christianity upon the peoples to whom it came, and the modifications which the converts made in its form as it took root among them to respond to the social patterns which had become its soil.

P. V. NORWOOD.

Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages. By Étienne Gilson. Scribner, 1938, pp. 114. \$1.50.

Following close upon his *Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy* and his lectures at Harvard of last year, *The Unity of Philosophical Experience*, Gilson here puts forth still another volume, less in size than the others, but in the same spirit and method. It is three lectures given this year at the University of Virginia under the Richards foundation.

That this Neo-scholastic has been brought to Harvard and Virginia to state the philosophic case for the Middle Ages would suggest that his is the most palatable presentation to contemporary secular speculative tastes of any of the defenders of that age of "faith" and "rationalism." Here is a demonstration of his manner, which indicates what I mean:

"... the Middle Ages, also called the Dark Ages, because from the rise of Christianity to the dawn of the Renaissance, the normal use of natural reason was obscured by blind faith in the absolute truth of the Christian Revelation. Philosophy then became a mere tool at the hands of unscrupulous

theologians until at last, around the end of the fifteenth century, the joint effort of the humanists, of the scientists and religious reformers gave rise to the new era of purely positive and rational speculation in which we still find ourselves engaged" (p. 3).

"The Primacy of Faith," "The Primacy of Reason," and "Reason and Revelation" are the chapter divisions of the book, giving a simple outline study of authoritarian fideism and adventurous speculative rationalism which is the Greco-Christian-Islamo-Judaic philosophical story up to the Thomistic synthesis, achieved only to be dissolved by the nominalists and the renaissance scientific mood which followed.

The tale is brought down to the present, wherein Bergson, James, and Rudolf Otto, taken as philosophic indices of our time, seem to point, from their several positions, to an approximate return to the Christocentric Revelation. It is only a pointing, but may be taken to be straws blowing in a wind more than ever favorable for Christian ideology.

No ecclesiastical nihil obstat commends this volume to the faithful nor mars its appreciation by those beyond the wall. Here the claims for religion are made with dignity and in terms of current secular thought.

F. H. O. BOWMAN.

Mediaeval Handbooks of Penance. A translation of the principal *libri poenitentiales* and selections from related documents. By John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer. Columbia Univ. Press, 1938, pp. xiv + 476. \$4.75.

This book is of importance in mediaeval scholarship. The popular handbooks of penitence of the Middle Ages have hitherto appeared in translations only in fragments.

The book is, to be sure, designed for the historical scholar. Yet the general reader is not likely to be bored by its pages. The penitential disciplines which mediaeval Christians seem to have undergone without rebellion seem unbelievably harsh. But the corresponding sins which are nonchalantly catalogued seem to a modern reader equally barbarous. Most of the penitentials here included belong to the Dark Ages, or shortly thereafter. They afford a vivid glimpse into the gigantic task faced by the mediaeval Church as it undertook the burden of civilizing the paganism of northern Europe.

The penitentials do not themselves discuss the theological implications of penitence, nor the problem of penance as a sacrament. Private penance seems to have been already taken for granted. The editors indicate in the introduction, however, that in their own day these penitentials were often opposed as novelties by official Church authority. Private penance had by no means become as yet the official disciplinary rule of the Church. The penitentials sprang from the needs of the time rather than logical doctrinal developments. These same penitentials, since they became extremely popular, contributed to the development of the use and abuse of the system of private confession and absolution which became universal in the late Middle Ages.

The Introduction to the book is a valuable monograph on the whole subject of penance in the early Church. The editors take a definite stand on several much debated issues—particularly concerning the rise of a sacramental theology

regarding penance. On the whole their judgment is that while sacramental principles are implied in much of the penitential discipline of the Church of the first eight centuries, this was never made explicit. "No formularies of absolution of the period are preserved; and all information on the point indicates the use of a prayer, not of a declarative form." "There existed no clearly defined theology of the sacraments before Augustine, and he does not call penance a sacrament."

T. O. WEDEL.

Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II. A Study in the Relations of Church and State. By Waldo E. L. Smith. Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1938, pp. xv + 144. \$2.25.

Although limited in scope this essay is most valuable. On few subjects have there been such careless generalisations as on the relationship between the Papacy and the pre-Reformation English Church. The appointment of foreigners to English sees by the Pope, the injustice of the system of Papal provisions, especially during the Avignon period, and the determined resistance of the Church in England to these Papal pretensions—these and similar 'facts' appear all too often in our Anglican histories.

Here we have presented a careful study of the episcopal appointments and disputed patronage cases for the years 1307-1327. And what does it show? There were 28 episcopal appointments during the period. Only twice was an English see given to a servant of the Roman Court and in only one of the two cases was he a foreigner. In the matter of patronage the following are some of the conclusions reached: (1) Edward had no objection to Papal provisions so long as they did not interfere with his own collations; (2) English Churchmen objected to taxation rather than provisions.

These conclusions are based on a most thorough use of English materials, but the author, to his regret and ours, was not able to include materials in Rome. Any conclusions on the question of Papal provisions must be tentative until local and Roman materials are studied together. For assured conclusions on the subject of the attitude of the Church towards Papal provisions many matters hitherto overlooked must be studied, e.g. the social question, for on the Continent certainly, and in England probably, opposition to Papal appointments was, at least sometimes, due to the low birth of the man appointed. The Holy See was often too democratic for the aristocratic Cathedral Chapters. Clear conclusions are much to be desired in history, but the path that leads to them is a difficult one. We are indebted to the author for leading us several steps along the path in this particular matter.

W. F. WHITMAN.

The Divinity of Jesus Christ: A study in the history of Christian Doctrine since Kant. By John Martin Creed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1938, pp. x + 143. \$2.00.

This book comprises the substance of the Hulsean Lectures delivered by the author during Lent 1936. Dr Creed passes in review the main types of interpretation of the Person of Christ which have been most significant in theo-

logical thought since the close of the 18th century. The first lecture is introductory. The second, on the Christology of Romanticism, is a masterly criticism of the thought of Schleiermacher, whose real greatness, Professor Creed believes, lies most certainly in his vindicating "to an unbelieving age the values of the historic faith of mankind in general, and in particular, the supreme value of the historical Christian faith." The third lecture, on Process and Incarnation, considers the contributions made to Christological theory by the philosopher Hegel and the Gospel critic Strauss. In the next lecture, on Creeds, Confessions and the New Learning, the types of doctrine considered are those which are all "in varying degrees conditioned by the aim of understanding, interpreting and in the main maintaining that body of traditional doctrine which had found expression in the Catholic Creeds and Church Confessions of the Reformation era." Lecture V, on The Fact of Christ, is a brilliant exposition and criticism of Albrecht Ritschl. Lecture VI discusses the Problem of Revelation, without question the most insistent problem of present-day theological speculation. The final lecture, The Divinity of Jesus Christ, is not an attempt at a final solution of the problem of Christology, but is particularly concerned with pointing out what must be the starting point for any satisfactory approach. Its chief thesis is clearly stated at the beginning.

"The doctrine of the Divinity of Jesus Christ can only properly be appropriated when it has been viewed in relation to the question of human destiny. It is possible to state and to defend views as to the destiny of mankind for which the Person of Jesus Christ has no relevance. But the converse does not hold: it is not possible to hold a proper belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ without raising the question of the destiny of mankind. For Incarnation is no self-explanatory idea."

This book should receive a warm welcome from serious theological students. Professor Creed's exposition and criticism of the leaders of theological thought since Kant, though necessarily brief, is brilliantly done, and there is much food for thought in his constructive suggestions.

PAUL S. KRAMER.

Filii in Filio. By E. Mersch. Tournai and Paris: Casterman, 1938, pp. 78 (reprint from *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, May-August, 1938).

The title *Filii in Filio* defines very precisely the theme of this clear and attractive essay by Father Mersch. For he presents here a study of sonship "by adoption and grace" with grace interpreted as manifest in a real union of the believer with Christ nourished and actualised principally through the Holy Eucharist. Of sonship other than that by adoption—other than that through union with the only-begotten Son of God—Father Mersch knows or at least says nothing. What he would say of the assertion of his American co-religionist, the Reverend M. S. Sheehy, that "the Catholic, as indeed all Christians, believes in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" (*New York Times*, November 17, 1938), one can only conjecture. This is a question, also, on which Anglicans seem to have done little thinking for some time.

After the briefest of introductions, the writer proceeds to consider the teaching respectively of Scripture and of Tradition on adoptive sonship. This is

done in characteristically French fashion by a careful and exact examination of specific texts or passages from the New Testament and the Fathers. This section amounts practically to a digest of the teaching on the subject in question of St Paul, St John, St Irenaeus, St Athanasius, St Augustine, and St Thomas Aquinas. Several other Fathers also are cited.

Attention is directed, next, to the theological issues posed by adoptive sonship, especially in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. This doctrine in general is greatly stressed throughout the essay. One statement is worth quoting: "The Christian knows God because he knows the Trinity, and not the Trinity because he knows God" (p. 38). The view of the Trinity assumed in the discussion is the Augustinian and Scholastic doctrine according to which the distinction of the Divine Persons is significant only from an immanent and relative standpoint: in all external activity, all operations *ad extra*, they act inseparably. This raises a problem, which, our author suggests, the scholastic theologians did not solve. Indeed, preoccupied with other problems, they hardly faced it. This problem is, if all works *ad extra* are common to the three Divine Persons, how can we conceive the existence of a special relation on the part of adopted sons to the true Son, and through Him to the Father and to the Spirit? To this problem and to the question of the Incarnation itself as related to it, the central section of the essay is devoted.

In the last section, "The Supernatural," Father Mersch dwells on and analyses the supernatural being of the Christian. To be a child of God is not a simple psychological attitude but an ontological reality; and this reality inheres in actual incorporation with Christ, in actually being of His body. Thus Christians are united with God and made partakers of the divine nature. Thus as *fili in Filio* they share with the human nature of Christ supernatural perfection or divinisation. But this destiny pertains only to those who are in Christ. "There is only one Son."

From the standpoint of learning, clarity, and profundity, *Fili in Filio* compels admiration. One may feel in it as in some other works on mystical theology a certain cloistral quality. It may seem very far removed from Czechoslovakia, Anti-Semitism, and unemployment. In contrast, the theology of "Crisis" and of the rising current of Protestant Neo-orthodoxy seems to speak to the times. But it would be a mistake to underestimate the power of serene detachment reflected in such a work as this. The strength of the Roman Catholic Church lies in its combination of sheer otherworldliness with an institutionalism embodying the wisdom of the serpent. The first element is fully as important as the second. The Fourth Gospel gives us very little reflection of the world of A.D. 100. Partly for this reason it will never be superseded. Being of no one time, it is for all time.

CHARLES W. LOWRY, JR.

The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons. By Carl S. Patton. Chicago: Willett, Clark, pp. 191. \$2.00.

There is no reason, said Chesterton, why a preacher should be "instinctively witty, but intentionally dull." Whenever you see a book by Dr Carl Patton you have one certainty—that it is not going to be dull. He is always interest-

ing, lively, humorous, and practical. This book on an old theme is no exception. There is not a stupid line, nor one dull paragraph. And there is humour—plenty of it. Witness the following examples of a corrupt or careless style:

"In a volume by one of the greatest of contemporary American philosophers," says Dr Patton, "I find this sentence:

'We keep our paths straight because we do not confuse the sequential correlative and functional types of experience with the contemporaneous, correlative and structural distinction of elements within a given function.'

I have no idea," adds Dr Patton, "of what he intended to say."

Here are two other delightful "boners" from this same chapter on Style; the first, from a history of religion in America:

"His education was received in a Jesuit school in Maryland, and was later sent to St Omer's College in France";

the second is from the advertisement of a fruit company:

"When thoroughly stewed even an invalid will enjoy our prunes."

But make no mistake, this is not a volume of humorous after-dinner stories. It is a very sensible treatment of the same old divisions of the subject: Material, Structure, Style, Preparation, and Delivery, with a "Chapter in Between" which deals with different types of sermons. Episcopalians will chuckle over this remark of the author (he is writing on the use of teeth, tongue and lips in public speaking):

"There are some words that are a terror to the public speaker, 'Diocesan' is such a one. Outside the Episcopal pulpit one may perhaps never have to use it. *It is part of the price a man pays for belonging to the true Church.*" (Italics ours.)

An excellent book this, short, swift, bright, and to the point. Even those who "*belong to the true Church*" could greatly profit by it.

GEO. CRAIG STEWART.

The Rediscovery of Man. By Henry C. Link. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938, pp. ix + 256. \$1.75.

Dr Link is frankly pessimistic about the possibility of achieving a successful personality, which is the major theme of his book, under the conditions which prevail in modern life. He sees two dominant dangers. We are under the spell of a false intellectualism. Education for some time past has been and is especially today concerned with cramming the mind. At the present moment we are ridden by intellectual theories. The school has a single standard and does not deal with personal life as a whole; government is in the hands of theorists who offer dubious political philosophies; scientific doctrines crush out personal freedom, and the psycho-analyst completes the confusion by interpreting all human action and reaction in the light of a preconceived dogma. On the other hand, both political philosophy and the so-called triumphs of material

invention reduce the individual more and more to the status of the spoon-fed dependent. Many live to be served, and lose both initiative and personal significance.

Man in consequence needs to be re-educated. Here the psychologist must show the way. He has discovered it by making countless personality efficiency tests. The answer is that man must cease to think, or, at least, any more than he has to. He is to engage in a vast activity, preferably of bodily motion which brings him into contact and competition with his fellows. Immediately the springs of his personality will be unstopped. The effective agent is the game. All life thereafter is to be viewed as a kind of game, played, not watched, but a game calling for great expenditures of bodily activity, as well as capacities for coöperation, team work, and following the rules. The author makes much of the rules. One of the great dangers of modern life is the dependence upon personal judgments—the result of too much thinking. The Constitution provides the rules for national life, and God, the Great Umpire, has given us the Ten Commandments for our moral direction. It would be well if the clergy extended these commandments to meet the many concrete occasions of life. In fact if they are not able to carry through this neo-legalism the day of the Church is over.

The reviewer was impressed by Dr Link's analysis of the times. It is ably done, even if the argument against thinking is extreme. Not less thinking is needed, but better thinking. The solution offered, however, is inadequate. Personality is as little likely to be achieved by overemphasizing action as by overemphasizing thought. Thought and action must go together.

The book is well worth reading. There is a great deal in it which is illuminating and wise. It will make the reader think, even in spite of Dr Link's constant advice against it.

S. BROWN-SERMAN.

War and the Christian. By C. E. Raven. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 186. \$1.75.

To use a hackneyed phrase, this is a most timely book. In the present state of the world no Christian can be at all sure that the question of what he may or may not conscientiously do in case of war will not overnight cease to be academic and become a matter of life and death. Canon Raven will help the puzzled to think the matter through, now, while intelligent, unemotional thinking is still possible.

Canon Raven believes that three attitudes are so nearly universal among sincere Christians that they may almost be accepted as axiomatic: first, war is evil; second, war must and will be abolished; third, the State must not be allowed control of the Christian conscience. The differences, then, between the Christian non-pacifist and the pacifist are largely concerned with time and method, not with aims and ideals. The arguments for the non-pacifist position that war is sometimes the less of two evils, that the democratic nations dare not and ought not to surrender the control of the world and the destinies of the weak to dictators is clearly, fairly and strongly presented, followed by the case for absolute pacifism, the abolition of armaments and the complete renunciation of war. Canon Raven is a pacifist, but he presents with absolute

fairness the point of view of those who can not believe that the Christian must or ought to accept that position. One sentence from the last chapter of the book reveals how the author's attitude towards those who can not quite agree with him differs from that of most absolute pacifists. "War, if obviously evil, may be legitimate for one man as the proper expression of his Christianity where the choice is between it and some other manifestation of devilry; to another it may be always an outrage to which under no circumstances at his soul's peril could he assent."

For many years the author of this review has read everything which he could secure on both sides of this, to him, most vital of ethical questions. *War and the Christian* is by far the sanest, most objective and fairest book from either side which he has encountered. The reviewer is not a pacifist.

F. R. MYERS.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Old Testament, Judaism

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Vol. XVII. For the year 1936-37. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research 1938, pp. xxiv + 127, with 56 plates. \$2.50.

This volume presents the results of a season's work at Tell Beit Mirsim and is concerned with the Bronze Age stratum. Written by William F. Albright, and plentifully illustrated with plates, it is an excellent addition to any library of Palestinian Archaeology.

A. D. A., JR.

Amos Studies, II. The Sin of Uzziah, the Festival of Jeroboam, and the Date of Amos. By Julian Morgenstern. Cincinnati: Offprint from *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vols. xii-xiii, 1937-38, pp. 53.

Here President Morgenstern carries on his studies in Hebrew History so brilliantly begun in an earlier issue of the *Hebrew Union College Annual*. As in his earlier studies, the author reveals again the tremendous gains to Old Testament Studies resulting from a marriage of deep sympathy and consecration to the faith of his fathers with the keenest of objective scholarship.

A. D. A., JR.

The Pharisees and the Gospels. By Solomon Zeitlin. New York, 1938, pp. 51.

A discussion of the Halakic differences between Jesus and the Pharisees as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. The author may be assumed to be an authority on the Halakah, but he is not up to date on the study of the gospels: e.g. he says, "All the commentators took the word Corban (Mk. 7: 11) to mean a gift—the word, however, does not have the meaning of a gift but a vow." With this compare a sentence from a modern commentary. "The word (Corban) was simply a formula for an oath or vow."

A. H. F.

New Testament

Did Christ Really Live? By H. G. Wood. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 191. \$1.75.

Mainly a refutation of Mr J. M. Robertson's *Pagan Christs*. The gift of that author for putting together two hypotheses and making a fact is thoroughly exposed; it is a gift not confined to the 'unorthodox.' The last two chapters, "Does the Christian Faith Need a Historic Christ?" and "What Do We Know of Jesus?" are of interest and value even to those who need no detailed answer to the Christ-Myth theory.

A. H. F.

What Jesus Taught. By Burton Scott Easton. New York: Abingdon, 1938, pp. 147. \$1.50.

A collection of the sayings of Jesus—221 passages in all—arranged under five main headings, with subdivisions of classification under each. The main

headings are: Righteousness, The Father, The Mission, The Rejection, and Conversion. Then follows, as Part II, a Commentary on the selected passages, in which their meaning is set forth as understood by most New Testament scholars at the present day. Thus the reader has before him, in handy compass, the 'assured results' of modern criticism, without needing to go through all the intricacies of technical research. Dr Easton recognizes the disputed interpretations, where no consensus exists among experts, and inclines to omit rather than retain such passages—though the really crucial ones cannot of course be disregarded. He himself has no special interpretations to support, and the Commentary is reduced to a minimum. For example, on the phrase 'unprofitable servants', he rejects the adjective: "A servant who does his full duty is certainly of value to his master . . . 'mere' gives the sense." The obscure 'Herodians' were "Jerusalem business men and politicians, in favor of 'stable government' and so supporters of Rome's authority." The 'lilies' of Palestine are "purple and scarlet, like the robes of eastern kings."

So brief and compact a compilation and exposition, giving just the amount and kind of explanation required, will make this little book immensely useful to all persons engaged in religious education, to pastors and teachers of Bible classes, and to private students of the Scriptures. In form, it is somewhat like Martin Dibelius's valuable *Botschaft von Jesus Christus*; but it is not intended to set forth the results of form criticism; though as a matter of fact, the form, often poetic, is carefully reflected in the revised translation which the author has prepared, and seminary classes will find it richly rewarding.

F. C. G.

The Epiphany of the Cross. By F. W. Buckler. Cambridge: Heffer, 1938, pp. xii + III. 3/6.

Four lectures delivered at Trinity Cathedral, Cleveland, during Epiphany 1935, setting forth the author's 'philosophy of Christianity and church history'. His approach is from the vantage point of oriental political theory. The background of the New Testament conception of the Kingdom of God is the sovereignty of the Great King, the Persian emperor, a conception that survived in the East down to Roman times, and later. The glory of this Kingship is something that, according to Zoroastrianism, 'cannot be forcibly seized' (one thinks of Phil. ii in this connection); the Magi adore Jesus 'as the true Successor of Cyrus the Great as King of the Whole World, the Manifestation of God on Earth'; and yet the robe of royal honour turns out to be the cross, which each must take up and bear who would enter the Kingdom of God.—Whatever we may think of individual applications of the thesis, the general approach is certainly stimulating and—on the whole—correct. We shall never understand the primitive Gospel, historically, until we approach it from the East, rather than the West.

F. C. G.

Drei Markus-Evangelien. By Rudolf Thiel. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1938, pp. 237. RM 8.20 (bd.).

An attempt to apply the 'scissors and paste' theory of literary composition to the Gospel of Mark. The author claims to trisect Mark, and give us three

parallel gospels, 'complete, stylistically unobjectionable, and without remainder'; and that without introducing any supplementary material, or relying upon any special hypothesis or other! It reminds one of some of the older Pentateuchal analyses, with tri-colored underlinings in each and every verse. That is how Mark is supposed to have woven together his sources! There is no textual criticism: the author follows the 'simple' principle, "In cases of equally good attestation, prefer the harder reading!" As if 'equally good' and 'harder' were clear on the surface and involved no prior judgments of value or any further questions of fact! Nor is any consideration given to Form Criticism, respecting the growth of tradition; or to the author's style, which, extraordinarily redundant as it is, lends itself all too readily to Thiel's analysis.—We happened to be reading the book about the time of Winston Churchill's radio appeal to America (see *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1938, for the text). Mr Churchill's particular style of oratory is nothing if not ample, redundant, almost plethoric. What could not a trichotomist do with that speech, or even a tetrachotomist!

Where Thiel's thesis breaks down is in its results: there is no evidence of difference in style or outlook of these three submerged gospels; and who can believe that 1:1 + 2b belonged to one 'Gospel,' 1:2a + 3-5 to another? The 'contradiction' comes from an early textual gloss, derived from Matthew (of which there are several in the current text of Mark), not from two similar Gospels each beginning with a quotation—but each a different one—from an Old Testament prophet.

It is a pity when capable men spend their time on purely individualistic types of 'research' like this, rather than entering the lists and sharing the common task, and adding to the total output of constructive New Testament research as it is generally conceived at the present day. Why will men now and then pretend that nothing has ever been done in this field, and write books that may be 'revolutionary' for them—but for no one else?

F. C. G.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ed. by Gerhard Kittel. Bd. iv, Lfgn. 1-4 (pp. 1-256). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, subsc. only.

Every two months there is issued an instalment of Kittel's new *Word Book*, and the work has now reached *león*. It is impossible to exaggerate, and really unnecessary to stress, its importance. Everyone familiar with current theology realizes how widely influential are its articles, chiefly those on Kingdom and on Church (*Basileia* and *Ekklesiá*, the latter, by K. L. Schmidt, appearing in vol. iii, pp. 502 ff., not in vol. ii), which have already borne constructive fruit even outside the immediate area of New Testament research—see Dr Flew's new book on the Church, for example. Theologically conservative, amazingly inclusive, these great articles gather up the Biblical information and its interpretation, ancient and modern, in such fashion as is nowhere else to be found.

F. C. G.

Urtextstudium. Sprachlicher Schlüssel zum Griechischen Neuen Testament.
By Fritz Rienecker. Heft ix: Heb., Jas., I-II Pt., I-II-III John, Jude.
Heft x: Apoc. Jn. Neumünster (Holst.): G. Ihloff & Co., 1938, pp. 644-793.
+ xxv. RM 1.30 and 1.00.

These two instalments complete Rienecker's handy little *Linguistic Key* to the Greek New Testament. It is based upon Nestle's edition, and is in pocket-size format (RM 10.50 for the whole, in linen, 14.50 in leather). The work will be useful to students in a hurry, or not yet sufficiently familiar with grammatical forms to identify a word at first glance. There is nothing quite like it in English. If there were, perhaps we should find fewer students giving up Greek, or substituting a modern translation for the original. F. C. G.

Church History

The Beginnings of the Christian Church. Vol. II. The Founding of the Church Universal. By Hans Lietzmann. Translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. Scribner, 1938, pp. xvi + 432. \$4.00.

The translation of Lietzmann's *Alte Kirche* follows close upon the heels of the original. The second volume covers the period from the Gnostic crisis in the second century to about the middle of the third, with weighty chapters on Church organization, the New Testament, the Rule of Faith, Worship, the Persecutions, the Apologists, Montanism, and a series on particular areas. It is unfortunate that the translator has felt himself justified in altering Lietzmann's volume-title (*Ecclesia Catholica*) into a form which seems to imply that somewhere in the second century a new Church, or a new kind of Church, came into being. But the important thing is that a work of such outstanding merit is so quickly made available to English readers, for it would be difficult to name a book that takes us so close to the heart of early Christianity.

P. V. N.

Kirchengeschichte. By Karl Müller. Third edition. I. i, Lfg. 1. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1938, pp. viii + 360. RM 10.35.

Müller's *Kirchengeschichte* is pretty nearly an ideal history of the Church down to the Peace of Westphalia, its terminal point. It is methodical in arrangement, clear, comprehensive and objective in exposition. Müller never allows himself to forget that it is the history of the Church that he is writing. His interest is primarily in the development of an *institution*. He is concerned with *ideas* less for their own sake than for the use the Church has made of them.

The first edition appeared in 1892, a greatly expanded revision in 1929. The third edition represents substantially the text of 1929, touched up here and there to bring it abreast of the latest researches, and listing the most recent literature. The first *Lieferung* covers the first three centuries. The undertaking will be carried on to the time of Gregory the Great. It is a pity that so scholarly a work has found no translator.

P. V. N.

Die Autoritätslehre in den Werken John Wesleys. By Stanley B. Frost. Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1938, pp. 110.

A doctoral dissertation at Marburg, dealing with Wesley's attitude toward the authority of the Church, the Bible, and religious experience, and the part which these played in the formation of his religious and theological convictions.

P. V. N.

Meister Eckehart als Mystiker: Eine religionspsychologische Studie. By Oskar Bolza. Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1938, pp. 39. RM 1.20.

The purpose of this study is to discover whether Eckehart, as the most famous of German mystics, shows evidence of having had what the author feels to be the outstanding note of mystical experience, viz. ecstasy.

Through the teaching of the Master in "The Birth of God in the Soul", Bolza concludes that there can be no doubt but that Eckehart did in fact experience the ecstasy. This seems, however, not to be in harmony with the moral teaching of E., in which Bolza feels that there is presented a fundamental antithesis between Subject and Object, i.e. God and the soul. Hence the author concludes that the actual experience of E., when *religionspsychologisch* analysed, represents a lower or more material stage in ecstasy, such as is represented by the "spiritual marriage" of St Teresa. It is mediated ecstasy, not immediate.

To the reviewer the above treatment appears to be superficial; first by reason of the refusal to consider the ultimate problem in all mystical studies ("die Frage, ob die Seele des Mystikers wirklich mit Gott vereinigt wird, gehört nicht in die Religionspsychologie," p. 7); and secondly because of an intellectualistic patterning of spiritual experiences which Bergson thirty years ago showed us to be inadequate.

L. C. L.

Theocracy and Toleration. A Study of the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650. By Douglas Nobbs. Cambridge University Press, 1938, pp. xiv + 280. \$4.65.

This is a careful analysis of the chief works dealing with the theory of Church and State which were written during two great controversies in Dutch Calvinism during the first half of the 17th century. The following authors are studied: (a) in the Arminian controversy, on the orthodox side Gomarus, Junius, Acronius, and Walaeus, and on the Arminian side Uytenbogaert, Vosius, Grotius, and Episcopius; (b) in the second controversy, that which followed the "De Episcopatu Constantini" of Vedelius, on the one side Triglandius, Apollonius, and Voetius, and on the other Salmasius, Du Moulin, and Constans.

Within the rather narrow limits which he has set himself the author has produced a valuable book, the only one available in English on the subject. There is almost no attempt to give the historical setting in which the writings were produced and a reader wishing a study of Dutch Calvinism will have to look elsewhere. The method used, that of outlining the views of each writer in turn, involves considerable repetition. The theories themselves, leading up

to the principle of separation of Church and State, are of more immediate interest than they would have been a few years ago. Contemporary events show that the Church-State problem must be thought through and for that a knowledge of past attempts to deal with the problem is necessary. To such knowledge this book makes a real, even if limited, contribution. W. F. W.

The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840: a Study in Church Life. By William Wilson Manross. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 270. \$3.25.

If we are to understand the Episcopal Church as it is today we must pay attention to such matters as the plight of the Anglican churches at the close of the Revolution, the statesmanship of White, the ecclesiastical convictions of Seabury and Hobart and Doane, the vision of a Muhlenberg or a Huntington, the party tensions following in the wake of the Oxford Movement, our missionary policy, or lack of it, while the old Northwest was being settled. If we are to recall what the Church was like a hundred years ago such *trivia* as pitch-pipes and Tate and Brady, "three-deckers" and antique heating devices, defunct periodicals and long-forgotten theological books, are not unimportant. These and other memories of the past Dr Manross has gathered into the series of able essays which make up this attractive volume of social history. We are all painfully aware of our relative feebleness in the Middle West. Dr Manross has assembled figures to show that as late as 1840 the number of our clergy in the vast area west of the Alleghanies was but two in excess of the number of Baptist ministers in Missouri alone.

One point which deserves more attention than it has received is the habitual exchange of courtesies between Episcopalian and other Christian groups, particularly on the frontier, in the period under review. A study here would doubtless yield some very significant findings.

P. V. N.

The History of the Episcopal Church in Japan. By Henry St George Tucker. Scribner, 1938, pp. 217. \$2.00.

The contents of this timely book represent, with the exception of the last chapter, the Hale Lectures delivered in 1937 at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois.

The ground covered is somewhat more than the title would indicate. In addition to the actual history of the Church in Japan, in chapters ii-viii, there is an introductory first chapter which gives the pre-Christian background of the Japanese people from the accession of Jimmu Tenno to the Imperial Throne in 600 B.C., and a pertinent concluding chapter on how the Church at home can best cooperate both spiritually and materially with the Church in Japan.

The author's purpose is, in his own words, "to give in outline an account of the development of the work undertaken by representatives of the Episcopal Church as a means of illustrating the problems and policies that are involved in the Christian movement as a whole." There could be no one better fitted to accomplish this double purpose than the former Bishop of Kyoto. With his intimate knowledge of missionary conditions, he is able to explain in a peculiarly valuable way some of the problems and policies which often puzzle

thoughtful laymen here at home. The reader will find logical answers to such questions as why denominationalism has been perpetuated in the Orient, why our own policies have differed from those of other Missions, why financial help is still necessary, and why the cultured Japanese feel that Christianity, in its metaphysics, is inferior to Buddhism.

A further merit of this book, no less important because incidental, is its honest and sympathetic presentation of Japanese character, ideals, and national genius. Today, when the Japanese nation is drawing upon itself the amazed and disapproving scrutiny of the world, this understanding account, written with truth and insight, should be welcomed by all Christian readers.

A bibliography and index are included in this beautifully printed volume, which though not written in text-book style is, however, concise enough for such use. Authoritative yet simple, full of facts yet never tedious, brief yet moving smoothly, clear, authentic, informative, interesting, Bishop Tucker's book is a notable addition to our scanty store of worthwhile missionary literature.

A. B. D.

Verständnis und Wertung der Mystik im neueren Protestantismus. By Hanfried Krüger. Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1938, pp. 111. RM 3.50.

This book forms the sixth volume in the *Religionsgeschichtliche und religionsphilosophische Einzeluntersuchungen* edited by Friedrich Heiler under the general title *Christentum und Fremdreigionen*.

The thesis of the author is that the mystical experience is an integral factor in the development of all great religions, and that in fact it was a genuine strand in the primitive Christian Gospel. St Augustine, Simon the New Theologian, and St Bernard of Clairvaux are witnesses to the continuation of this mystical experience at the center of the Christian tradition. Through Pietism on the one hand, and through the Enlightenment on the other, a proper understanding of mysticism was lost, with the result that the early and middle nineteenth century theologians, especially Ritschl and his school, almost completely missed the historic and justified function which mystics had exercised in Christianity throughout the centuries. "Belief" was contrasted with "mysticism" to the obvious disadvantage of the latter. With Heiler, however, and a more thorough insight into the mystical experience both in Christianity and in other religions, mysticism has come into its own as an independently valid, though by no means the only, universal apprehension of the divine.

Naturally this study reflects largely the views of Heiler in his *Katholicismus*, yet the author claims even in Protestantism an essential place for mysticism, first because of the emphasis on the "grace-filled soul" in historic Protestant teaching, and secondly because of the "fruit of good works" in Protestantism today.

L. C. L.

The Faithful Mohawks. By John Wolfe Lydekker. Macmillan, 1938, pp. x + 206. \$3.75.

Time enough has passed for Churchmen of the United States to read with enthusiasm and objectivity this most readable account of "the faithful Mohawks," who remained faithful to England and the Church of England during the

American Revolution. The archives of the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have produced rich historical treasures concerning these native peoples, and these are now made available to us by a true historian who sets forth an important chapter in the history of Canada. This book will have special appeal for those hundreds of Canadian-Americans who originate in lower Ontario, and especially the territory around Brantford, so named after two of the heroes of the book, "King" Hendrick and "Chief" Brant. Lord Tweedsmuir (John Buchan, to you and me) writes the foreword.

P. L. B.

Reunion

The Second World Conference on Faith and Order. Ed. by Leonard Hodgson. New York: Macmillan, 1938, pp. ix + 386. \$2.50.

The full, official report of 'Edinburgh,' by its Secretary. An introductory chapter sketches the development since Lausanne, in 1927, chiefly the work of the Continuation Committee. The volume gives not only résumés of the sermons and addresses and speeches from the floor, but also the full reports of the various sections as first presented to the Conference, as well as the formal *Report* of the conference. The book is an indispensable one for every person interested in Christian Reunion.

F. C. G.

The Basic Formula for Church Union. By Ten Anglican and Ten Congregational Ministers of the City of Chicago. Edited by Douglas Horton. Chicago: The Chicago Theological Seminary and Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1938, pp. 88. 50 cents.

The "basic formula" suggested by this irenicon is "In consensus unitas, in non consensus libertas, in utrisque caritas." In other words, the unity which it suggests consists in the largest degree of coöperative action possible in any given situation. Intercommunion will not necessarily take place, at least not at once. Many who will shy off from the practical suggestions made toward the end of the book will nevertheless find the theological material of the first part extremely suggestive and enlightening. The point of departure found is in the interaction of the "collective" and "individual" principles, both of which find their place in Anglicanism and Congregationalism, though in varying degree.

The men who wrote this booklet as the result of their three-year-long discussion undeniably found their study together spiritually rich and intellectually valuable, and the irenicon contains much sound common sense, as, e.g., "People who ask for compromise on religious matters do not understand the nature of religion" (p. 45); "Since disagreement need not necessarily cover the whole gamut of the relationships between the two sides, so neither need the separation" (p. 46). These words will bear pondering, and the book should be read by any who are interested in Christian reunion.

S. E. J.

History of Religions

Hindu Scriptures. (Everyman's Library, vol. 944.) Ed. by Nicol Macnicol. Dutton, 1938, pp. xxiv + 293. \$90.

Here in one volume, the editor has combined thirty of the hymns of the Rig-veda, five of the Upanishads, and the Bhagavadgita. The introduction, while

brief, is adequate. The whole is given an appreciative foreword by Rabin-dranath Tagore.

The publishers have done a real service to the general reader as well as to the student of comparative religions by making these important and beautiful works so readily available. A random quotation from the Hymn to the Dawn is sufficient to give an impression of the charm of the translation as well as the original:

In the sky's borders hath she shown in splendour: the goddess hath thrown off her veil of darkness.
Awakening the world with purple horses, on her well-harnessed chariot Dawn approaches.

A. D. A., JR.

The Youngest Disciple. By Edward Thompson. Dutton, 1938, pp. 313. \$2.50.

Here in "novel" form is presented the story of Panchkori and his progress as a disciple of the Buddha. In its essence the story acts as a framework for stories and legends concerning the master and his chief followers. In turn their associations and experiences together provide a vehicle for the teaching of the Noble Eightfold Path.

Beautifully written by an author learned and in complete sympathy with his subject, the work presents an attractive and not too difficult approach to an understanding of the Buddha and his teachings.

A. D. A., JR.

Pastoral Theology, Homiletics, Education

Re-discovering the Creed. By Mildred Whitney Stillman. Cornwall-on-Hudson: Idlewild Press, 1938, pp. 77. \$1.00.

This is a frank and personal account of the writer's spiritual experiences as a member of several large metropolitan churches, of her loss of vital religion and its subsequent recovery. The book contains some good suggestions as to ways of deepening the interest of children and young people in the Church and its life.

S. B.-S.

Somewhere to be Had. By Raimundo de Ovies. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1938, pp. 166. \$1.50.

The writer, who is a newspaper columnist and lecturer on psychology as well as Dean of the Cathedral at Atlanta, Georgia, deals with the nature and conditions of happiness. This is always "somewhere to be had." The book seeks to give answers to actual questions that have been asked about the nature of the individual personal life and social relationships. The topics discussed include personal freedom, the nature of personality, environment, fear, family relationships, sex, work and recreation, and religion. Every discussion is followed by a questionnaire, and the citation of actual cases. The approach is from the standpoint both of religion and psychology, the nature of which is briefly explained.

The book might well serve as a guide or textbook in a discussion group concerned with the problems of personal life in the present day. The various subjects are dealt with frankly and with a great deal of insight and knowledge.

There runs through all the book a vein of good common sense. Dean de Ovies writes well and knows how to enliven his subject by apt allusion to other fields. The book would have been stronger for a more careful treatment of the place of religion. This comes in rather at the tail end and not altogether as a climax.

S. B.-S.

The God Whom We Ignore. By John Kennedy. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 260. \$2.00.

This book comes out of the pastoral experience of a minister of a large congregation in the midst of Scotland's industrial belt. It is addressed to the nominal church member, whose trouble is not so much lack of sympathy with the church as lack of interest. Dr Kennedy seeks to win him back to active, meaningful participation in the fellowship of the church's body, and more particularly as it is expressed in corporate worship. His analysis of why people do not attend church is refreshing for its absolute frankness. On the other hand, his appeal to the indifferent is to desire a more vital experience of God. He never descends to any lesser motive for attracting people back to church and worship. The church, he reiterates, is "a society of people who have a great zeal for Christ." His emphasis all through the book is upon Christianity as a way of life, not a belief in certain things. One will find the book exceedingly readable and full of apposite and neatly phrased sentences. I cannot forbear quoting this one: "Members of churches seem willing to share every experience but an experience of Christ."

M. H. S., JR.

The Bond of Honour. By Burton S. Easton and Howard C. Robbins. Macmillan, 1938, pp. xv + 112. \$1.50.

This very useful little book is intended to help ministers of the several religious bodies meet the responsibility of giving advice to those who are about to marry. The authors have done an excellent piece of work and, in addition to the minister's making use of the book himself, he might well, when he can afford it, give a copy of it to the bridal pair. A blank marriage certificate is included as well as the forms used by several different Churches. This reviewer wishes to commend particularly the chapters entitled 'The Essential Principle of Marriage' and 'The Bond of Honour.'

F. A. M. E.

God in Us: We in God. By Albert Edward Day. New York: Abingdon, 1938, pp. 171. \$1.75.

The title of this book leads one to look for the humanistic, pantheistic identification of God and man against which Barthianism is a reaction; its contents are, therefore, a pleasant surprise. Dr Day does not surrender the great paradoxes of religion. To him God is still the Unknowable, yet well known; He is the "Utterly Other," nevertheless in us and we in Him; we find Him because He finds us. Dr Day's thesis is that only in the integration of personality which comes from a genuine experience of God can we really live and the world's problems be solved. He interprets and tells how to find that experience. The style of the book is interesting, popular and very readable; its scholarship

sound and modern; its theology orthodox. There is much good sermon material there.

F. R. M.

The Problem of Following Jesus. By James Gordon Gilkey. Macmillan, 1938, pp. x + 127. \$1.50.

This vigorously written book should be a useful text for an adult or collegiate study-group which accepts Dr Gilkey's view that Jesus is for our day significant as a teacher, important but far from modern, in the fields of theism and morals. For other sorts of Christian the most interesting part of the book is chapters 9 and 10, which provide some interesting cases in the conflict of duties. In such a brief summary, it is inevitable that any reader will find much in the account of the teaching of Jesus which he questions.

N. B. N.

Right and Wrong in an Age of Confusion. By William P. King. Abingdon, 1938, pp. 246. \$2.00.

An argument for the Christian morality, addressed to educated young people; over-homiletical in manner, and over-general in the account of the morality to be followed by the Christian. Definitely inferior to Dr Gilkey's book for the use of study-groups.

N. B. N.

The Love of God. By Bede Frost. Harper, 1938, pp. 236. \$2.50.

Here is a really first class devotional book on the Love of God. The author succeeds in presenting his subject with clarity and depth, with reasonableness and persuasiveness combining intellectual vigor with spiritual insight. He demonstrates the need of a reverent approach to the courts of the Most High, not with the unseeing mind of the tourist or the cheapjack journalist or the supercilious critic; not with shallowness and levity, but with discipline of the mind, with that attitude of humility which must ever precede initiation into and reception of the divine mysteries.

The vast subject is treated in three ways: first, what the love of God is in God, that is, what St John means by *God is Love*; second, what the love of God is to all that is outside Himself, as when the wise man says, "Thou lovest all the things that are, and abhorrest nothing that thou hast made," third, what is love for God in persons and things, especially in man to whom it is said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God."

Seldom have we read a book of deep devotion so admirably planned, so thoughtfully wrought, so gracefully written. Clergy and laity alike will find it richly stimulating.

G. C. S.

Signposts to God. By W. R. Matthews. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 92. \$1.25.

There are some books which every clergyman should keep on hand to loan or give to the laity. This is one of them. Here are half a dozen twenty-minute radio talks by the Dean of St Paul's, London, on great themes: Nature, History, Conscience, Authority, God, God as Personal.

Each of these subjects is treated briefly, thoughtfully and persuasively. The response of the hearers is evident in the questions raised by them which came

flooding in to the preacher, and he has devoted a chapter to "Answers to these Questions."

For a short popular book (less than 100 pages) on apologetics, one which the average layman can understand and enjoy, I recommend *Signposts to God*.

G. C. S.

Christianity and Economics. By Josiah Stamp. Macmillan, 1938, pp. x + 194. \$2.00.

A very interesting small book written by one of England's outstanding business men. It shows quite a remarkable grasp of the fundamental Christian teachings and one wishes that all business men had the same amount of information that the author has. It is the kind of a book that I should like to give to all my business friends.

J. H.

Unemployment Relief Without Taxation. By E. Clark Burdick. New York: Samuel R. Leland, Inc., 1938, pp. 125. \$1.25.

An engineer attempts to solve a knotty economic problem by exact mathematical simultaneous equations. The only equation left out is the only one worth considering, The Human Equation. Just another book.

J. H.

Working in the Church: A Third Grade Course. By Dorothy Dickinson Barbour. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1938, pp. 150. \$2.00.

This Course is not exactly a manual for an untrained teacher but rather a handbook of suggestions for Church School activities with lists of books for reference, also a list of hymns suitable for the Third Grade age group, to be used at the discretion of the Director of Religious Education or the Sunday School Superintendent. The author asks, "What sort of activities will teach the child to live in a Christian way?" "The suggestions offered throughout the Course are in the hope of helping teachers to stimulate their children—and themselves—into activities in the life of the Church that their own parish needs." And so we find the eight-year olds invited to assist at parish suppers, joining the Altar Guild on Saturday or Sunday morning to lay out vestments, studying the Church School budget, visiting hospitals or Old People's Homes at Easter, etc. Section E on the Course as actually put into use in some schools will repay study. The book is recommended by Dr McGregor and Dr Adelaide Case.

C. E. H. F.

The Case for Theology in the University. By William Adams Brown. Chicago University Press, 1938, pp. x + 124. \$1.50.

This essay is in answer to a statement of President Robert M. Hutchins that the modern university needs a unifying principle; but that since today we have neither "orthodoxy" nor an "orthodox church," theology can no longer be the unifying principle, and we must have metaphysics. Dr Brown believes that metaphysics without theology cannot solve the problem, and that the answer is to be found in a theology such as that of the Oxford and Edinburgh conferences, which makes no appeal to external authority. The high point of the book is his picture of the university of the future, with theology as its organ-

izing principle permeating the teaching of all departments, rather than being simply one little specialty among many.

This is the kind of book that tempts the reviewer to enter the discussion himself. He contents himself, however, with one or two points. Modern theological discussion at its best, whether Catholic or Protestant, is carried on in the rational manner which Dr Brown approves. The author classes Anglo-Catholicism with Barthianism as a "purely authoritarian religion." Parish priests may so teach it, but the great theologians enter the "universe of discourse" with all others. Finally, Oxford and Edinburgh may be "the beginnings of an ecumenical theology," but if so they are the rediscovery and re-statement of ancient theological thought which may be fairly termed ecumenical.

S. E. J.

Miscellaneous

The Little Clay Cart: A Drama in Ten Acts. Attributed to King Sudraka, newly translated from the Sanskrit by Revilo Pendleton Oliver. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1938, pp. 250. \$2.50.

A new translation of the Sanskrit classic, *Mṛcchakaṭīka*. In this translation, there is presented for the general reader, rather than the student of Hindu literature, perhaps the simplest and most generally readable Indian work for the stage. The characters are expertly delineated and the action and locale, widely different from those of the modern reader, are quite convincing. Strangely enough, for a classic, the ending is happy, rather than being steeped in the deepest tragedy. The translator has equipped his work with an excellent introduction and copious foot-notes.

A. D. A., JR.

Intuition. By K. W. Wild. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 249. \$3.00.

Here at last comes a book demanding consideration of intuition in terms less vague than we usually find whenever the word and idea are employed. A scholar's dissertation has grown into a remarkably interesting book on the subject, astonishingly free from the defects one might expect in the handling of such a problem.

Bergson, Spinoza, Croce, Jung, and Whitehead yield for the author rich treasure in her enterprise of approaching the meaning and possible implications of intuition. She is obviously at home in the twin fields of psychology and philosophy; and she should be read with a large measure of satisfaction by anyone who possesses more than a simple interest in the subject. Part two of her book considers religious, moral, and aesthetic intuition, as well as genius, teleology and values. Whether or not the reader will follow with agreement all that is suggested, at least he must admit that here is a job particularly well done in a field that has found few to enter it. The final chapter called "Conclusions" might well be read by anyone who dares to employ the word "intuition" in anything he writes.

F. H. O. B.

My Mind a Kingdom. By George Thomas. Dutton, 1938, pp. 294. \$2.50.

The daily journal of the author of *A Tenement in Soho* now comes to the reader with a foreword by V. Sackville-West. Its appeal is above question to

those who are looking for that greatest of all braveries, the persistent struggle against almost baffling sickness. The author and his family all share the strange disease that causes the victim to fall, unable to rise without help; that means unremitting pain of body and threat to the soul; yet, withal, George Thomas writes with a fine balance of values and is remarkably free of a certain pessimism that is classic in the last will and testament of Bourdillon. Like all such journals, there is no attempt to achieve self-conscious novelty—for these are the jottings of honesty, which to some tastes would suggest the banal—and that is really in its favor.

F. H. O. B.

Portrait of Socrates. By R. W. Livingstone. Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, pp. lvi + 200. \$2.00.

"Reason was incarnate in Socrates and can be seen in him in its purest and simple form" (p. vi). The author therefore attempts to introduce Socrates to those who may not have met him but who think that the world would be improved by listening to Reason. A long introduction on the character, method and trial of Socrates is followed by those three dialogues, the *Apology*, the *Crito*, and the *Phaedo*, in which his complete detachment from the commonplace hallucinations of humanity are most clearly expressed. No knowledge of Greek is needed to understand this book.

A. H. F.

Der Kritische Gottesbeweis. By E. Pfennigsdorf. Munich: Reinhardt, 1938, pp. 65. RM 1.65.

An attempt to find a proof (in God-consciousness) of the existence of God which will be independent of Kant's criticisms of the 'classical' proofs, and of Kierkegaard's protest against the attempt to find any proof at all.

A. H. F.

Das Erste Biblische Marienwort. By D. Haugg. Stuttgart: Kath. Bibel-Werk, 1938, pp. 76. RM 1.50.

An exegetical study of Luke 1: 34, exposing the absurdity of some ancient and modern interpretations and defending the most natural one.

A. H. F.

Verse Riddles from the Bible. By B. D. Brien. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1938. 50c.

The Foreword says, "They may be used profitably, solely as a means of entertainment." After reading some of the verses, one realises the truth of this.

A. H. F.

Liberality and Civilization. By Gilbert Murray. Macmillan, 1938, pp. 94. \$1.00.

These are the Hibbert Lectures delivered by the famous Greek scholar, Gilbert Murray, at the Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, and Glasgow in 1937. Their theme is found in the noble and solemn words of the founder of Czechoslovakia, President Masaryk: "No State can prosper unless the ground work is moral. The ethical basis of all politics is humanity, and humanity is an international programme. It is a new word for the old love of our fellow-

men. No State can stand if it infringes the broad rules of human morality. The Greeks and Romans declared justice to be the foundation of States; and *justice is the arithmetic of love.*"

These two lectures—there are but two—are, as one might expect, clear and thoughtful and timely expositions of this theme. In these days, when Europe is in the clutches of dictators, and brute force has triumphed for the moment over freedom, when crass selfishness, greed, treachery, cowardice, dictate the policies of nations, even of those which have aspired to be democracies, the voice of Gilbert Murray is the voice of an authentic prophet, warning, reproaching, guiding, exhorting all who believe in Liberality and are free in thought and speech to see to it that their eyes are open and consciences alert, and that under repeated discouragements our sane courage fail not "until we or our children can at last throughout the world bring to men of good will peace and brotherhood."

A tonic is this little book for those who read the daily newspapers.

G. C. S.

Wings of Great Desire. By James Gray; Macmillan, 1938, pp. 518. \$2.00.

This is a novel which has received much favorable comment. Personally I have found it intolerably dull, and long drawn out, the unpleasant record of an utterly selfish mother, the tragic unfolding of a completely frustrated life. High ideals are set forth but they are apparently unrelated to any practical disciplined intelligent religious life. It is a big book but not a great one, well written but hardly worth the writing.

G. C. S.

The World's Great Religious Poetry. Edited by Caroline M. Hill. Macmillan, 1938, pp. xxxix + 836. \$1.69.

Earlier editions of this Anthology were reviewed in vols. vi and vii. The first edition appeared in 1923. The book contains more than 700 poems dating from 2000 B.C. to the present day, and has three indices: to Titles, to Authors, and to First Lines. The low price is noteworthy.

A. H. F.

Seventy Stories of the Old Testament. Comp. by Helen Slocum Estabrook. Portland, Maine: Bradford Press, 1938. \$3.75.

Seventy woodcuts from masters of the 15th and 16th centuries, with the stories to accompany them, the latter in the language of the A.V., all superbly and sumptuously printed, and making a very choice gift book—one to be welcomed, cherished, used, and treasured for years. There is a Foreword by Frederick C. Grant.

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